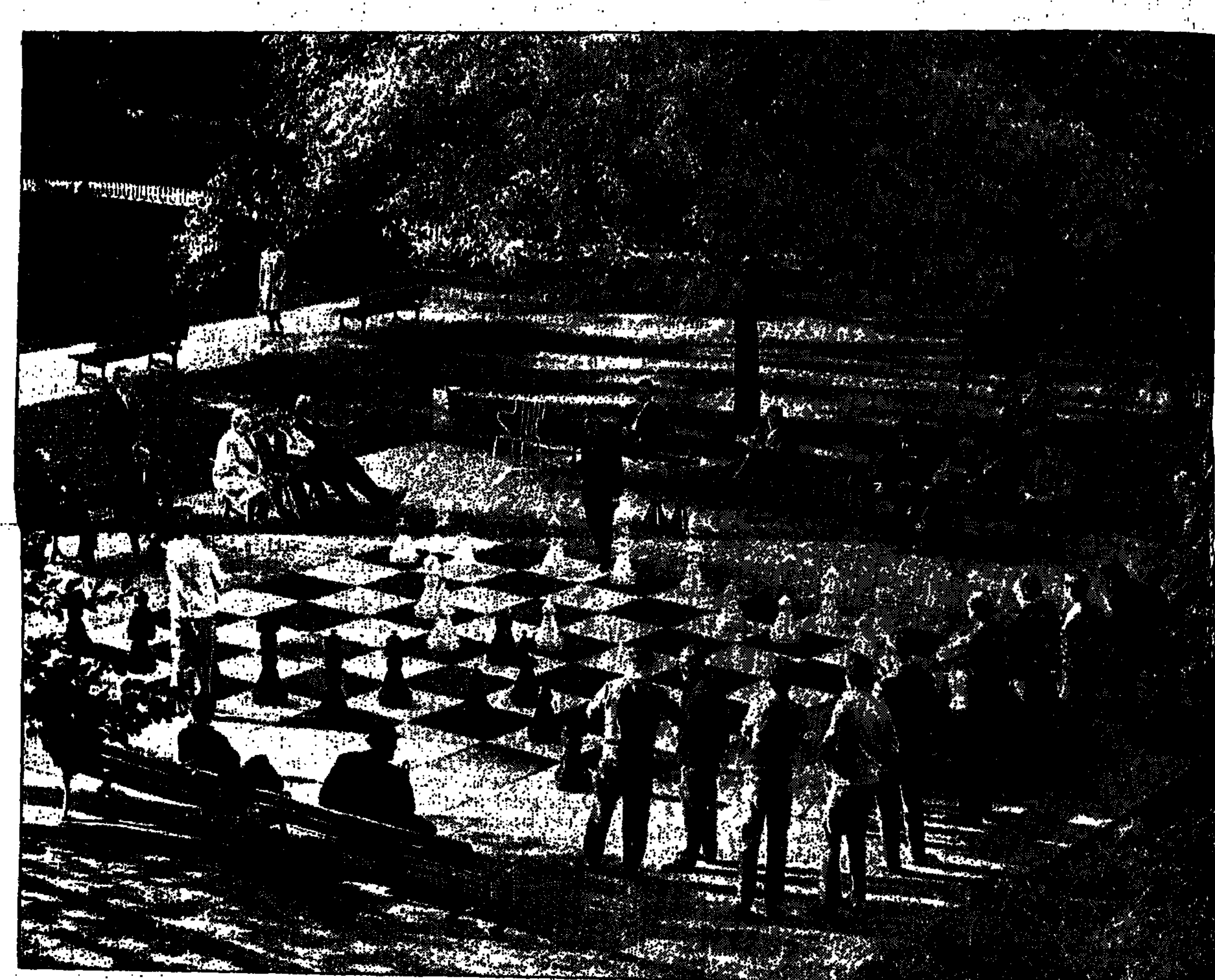


The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 14 May 1978
Seventeenth Year - No. 839 - By air

C 20725 C

Bonn weighs gains of Brezhnev visit

Bonn and Moscow propose to do everything possible to ensure that the German and Soviet peoples live together in peace.

The two governments are no doubt sincere in their desire to forestall an unwitting outbreak of World War III.

No-one, for that matter, would seriously doubt that Leonid Brezhnev and Helmut Schmidt are firmly resolved to intensify political and economic ties and reduce mutual mistrust to gradually establish a basis of trust for good neighbourly relations.

The question is: is that enough? The 25-year cooperation agreement is, perhaps, the most tangible outcome of Mr Brezhnev's four-day state visit to this country.

It stipulates the trade, industrial and financial sectors in which cooperation is to be improved to the benefit of both countries until the turn of the century and beyond.

It takes into account the rhythm of Soviet economic planning, based as it is on a succession of five-year plans.

It also bears in mind Moscow's desire, in major and long-term projects, to pay for machinery from this country in goods manufactured with the imported machinery.

Since Moscow is keenly interested in this economic agreement, the inclusion of West Berlin in its terms proved no problem whatever.

But no one harbours any illusion that this five-page document is going to transform the course of events. Even Nikolai Tikhonov, Soviet First Deputy Premier in charge of economic planning, admitted that he has yet to see what effect the treaty may have in facts and figures.

Deputy Premier Tikhonov should know what he is talking about; he is the Soviet chairman of the joint commission on economic affairs.

German economists, too, remain sceptical, having come to realise in the wake of Mr Brezhnev's first visit in 1973 that progress in dealings with the Soviet Union can prove slow indeed.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, chairman of DIHT, the standing conference of chambers of commerce and industry, an industrialist who was urging Chancellor Adenauer to push trade with the East Bloc as long ago as the 50s, points out that intergovernmental agreements are not a sine qua non of trade between two countries.

The ten points of the joint final communiqué are certainly not rendered more important by calling them a declaration.

Perhaps this was why Chancellor Schmidt expressly referred to the provision by which both sides state their determination to further boost the quality and level of relations in all areas. He reckoned this alone qualified as a major event.

People in both countries will doubtless be pleased to hear that their heads of government feel an end to the arms race is urgently needed and acknowledge the "indivisibility of peace and security in all parts of the world."

This sounds as though it ought to herald an end to all kinds of arms deliveries to other countries, including the Middle East and Africa. The small print of the declaration fails to go into further detail. Both sides deem it important for no-one to aspire to military superiority. Both feel that approximate equality and parity are sufficient to ensure defence.

But there is not a word as to what *this may be specifically taken to mean* in the context of the Vienna talks on mutual balanced force reduction in Central Europe.

But Soviet acceptance of the concept of parity may be considered ground for hope.

Which leaves the controversial subject

Continued on page 3

To the future: Russian premier Leonid Brezhnev and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt drink a toast to the 25-year economic cooperation agreement signed during the Russian leader's four-day state visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. (Photo: Sven Simon)

IN THIS ISSUE

Television talk signals era of normality

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's lengthy TV address to viewers in this country on the eve of his departure after four days of talks with German leaders spoke volumes.

It rendered superfluous long-winded commentaries to mark the end of his visit, certainly when the circumstances are borne in mind.

First, his fireside chat with German viewers was not regarded as in any way sensational. This alone testifies to the degree of normality, or at least practical commonsense, relations between the two countries have reached.

There can, of course, be no question of genuine normality as long as the Soviet Union forcedly prevents our fellow-countrymen in the GDR from living as they see fit.

But we are bound to respect the Soviet Union as a superpower. It in its turn holds this country in high esteem.

The Soviet leaders probably feel they are being generous to a fault when they refute Bonn's allegations about Berlin with mild irritation rather than utter infuriation.

This must surely be true of Soviet restraint in preferring to maintain discreet silence when German leaders voiced commitments to national unity.

Mr Brezhnev took care not to sing the GDR's praises in any of his speeches, which will doubtless have disappointed and exasperated the powers in East Berlin.

But let there be no mistake. Mr Brezhnev may have exercised what he felt was tact in his dealings with his hosts in Bonn, but it was partly from a sense of superiority.

Let Germans delight to bark and bite, he seems to have decided. Mother Russia will go her own sweet way.

Mr Brezhnev's TV address was not broadcast live, however. It was prerecorded in Moscow, which made his comment that the visit had been a success that much more intriguing.

He seemed determined at all costs to brand the visit a success, which would warrant the conclusion that the Soviet Union expects to benefit both at home and abroad from making play with prospects of cooperation with Bonn.

As the most powerful European member of Nato, this country constitutes a temporary stand-in for Mr Carter's Washington, with which Moscow has yet to come to terms.

At the same time the Kremlin is paying tribute to the Soviet people's desire for peace and prosperity. Although

Continued page 2



Karamanlis in Aachen

Greek Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis in Aachen on 4 May to receive the city's Charlemagne Prize for his work for European integration meets Aachen Oberbürgermeister Kurt Malangré (left). Mr Karamanlis donated his DM5,000 cash award to a German cancer fund. (Photo: dpa)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

US bid to sell Awacs sky spy raises arms trade questions

All attemps by Europe's political "architects" to convert the arms traffic between the United States and Europe from one-way to two-way has failed to progress beyond the drawing-board.

US arms manufacturers, who have a powerful lobby in Washington, have invariably succeeded in reducing declarations of intent by the US government to little more than waste paper.

The US government may have more than once have declared its readiness to buy arms from Europe but nothing has ever happened.

Even in a case such as the German Leopard 2 tank, which proved more than a match for its US rival in field trials, the Americans have not seen fit to buy the better merchandise.

After much toing and froing the only concession the United States was prepared to make was to undertake to buy the German 120-mm cannon for the US tank from the early 80s.

Even the Roland anti-aircraft missile, also designed in this country, is to be built in the United States under licence, an arrangement of no financial interest whatever for Bonn.

The latest item on the arms agenda is Awacs, the airborne warning and control system the United States is keen to sell to its allies in Europe.

Awacs consists of a US aircraft equipped with an array of US electronic devices for which this country is, for the most part, expected to pay in deutschemarks.

The politicians who will have to decide whether to buy Awacs, will need to consider the relative merits of at least three main arguments:—

- First, does this airborne early warning system seem likely to bolster security and defence to such an extent that purchase would appear justified?
- Second, if the system were bought, would other European countries make a greater financial contribution towards the project than at present envisaged; and could it be pigeonholed in Bonn budgets from 1981 without jeopardising other projects?
- Third, and by no means least important, is the United States prepared to buy arms in Europe?

The first question cannot be answered with a clear yes or no. Awacs would only gain a few minutes on the present system, which goes under the acronym Nadge.

Awacs is also extremely susceptible to enemy attack. It can easily be knocked out by missile or aircraft action and is heavily reliant on the West maintaining air supremacy.

Besides, it can only be a matter of time before data transmitted by spy satellite are evaluated in the same time it takes Awacs to deliver the goods.

On the second point, there can be no question of Bonn becoming the paymaster of Nato. Early warning systems are as much in other countries' interest as in our own.

Yet there are no indications that other European members of Nato are prepared to share the 25 per cent of the bill this country is currently seen as paying.

What is more, before long Bonn will be in the market for new frigates, tanks and aircraft. It remains to be seen how it will be able to afford Awacs as well.

Buying the US early warning system must surely either jeopardise other projects, weakening conventional defence potential, or inordinately increase defence spending, which is neither politically feasible nor, for that matter, desirable.

The third point is also problematic. In the past the United States has been accustomed to selling this country virtually anthing it liked.

Talk of a two-way arms traffic has been fine-sounding but in practice a non-starter.

This is the situation facing Defence Minister Hans Apel. Not for Herr Apel the customary 100 days in which to se-

Continued on page 4

Genscher pledges economic aid for Israel

Bonn is still prepared to help Israel cope with pressing economic problems says Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

In an interview with *Tribüne*, a Frankfurt magazine, Herr Genscher said on 2 May that this country has demonstrated, both bilaterally and within the EEC, that its willingness goes beyond words.

Results have been achieved. Israel's trade deficit with the Federal Republic has been halved over last year, while imports from Israel have been substantially increased.

A group of 15 Israeli parliamentarians representing all major parties in the Knesset has been established in Jerusalem to work-on improving relations with Germany.

dpa

(Die Welt, 3 May 1978)

PLO shrugs off deaths of Germans

A youth exchange scheme aimed at fostering reconciliation between Germans and Jews, *Aktion Sühnezeichen*, is to blame for the death of two young people from this country and serious injuries to five others, says to PLO's spokesman in Bonn.

PLO spokesman Franghie said the youngsters, who fell foul of a 27 April Palestinian commando raid on a bus near Nablus in the West Bank, had only themselves to blame. Their attackers were blameless.

His statement contained not a word of condolence, not a word of apology, merely convoluted attempts to justify the murders.

"People who bring them to Palestine" were responsible for what happened, the PLO spokesman claimed in a radio interview.

The young Germans, who were working on a kibbutz, were standing in for young Israelis on military service, he added. They could hardly be claimed to be on a purely humanitarian mission.

This might be considered a woefully narrowminded argument were not the event so tragic.

What does the PLO imagine Israeli soldiers do for a living? What does it consider to constitute social service? Working on a kibbutz, perhaps, or looking after the sick and aged?

It is not the first time the PLO's man in Bonn has voiced a jaundiced viewpoint on events in the Middle East. His arguments tend to underline the niew that the PLO, despite UN appearances and the support of a substantial number of countries, still has a long way to go before it is fit for circulation.

Manfred Oettler

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 29 April 1978)

Continued from page 1

Russians may still have unhappy memories of Hitler's war, they still hold German technical and economic efficiency in high regard.

To take this into account is by no means to disregard the nature of Soviet strategy, aimed as it is at international power.

Moscow can still not get by without trade with the West, and as far as the Soviet system is concerned Russia is decidedly unwilling and barely able to pay the price in both political and economic terms,

Yet in terms of both domestic and foreign policies the Kremlin needs detente and cooperation.

Only in the context of this contradiction between ideologically petrified determination on the one hand and actual ability and necessity on the other can there be any understanding why Mr Brezhnev hails as great steps wordy documents with very little to say for themselves.

The agreements signed in Bonn are viewed by German diplomats as meriting little more than an embarrassed shrug of the shoulder.

Berlin and disarmament are fine words, but what the two sides had to say about them is to say the least ambiguous. Even fine-sounding pronouncements on economic ties are designed to bridge political gaps. Trade has been known to flourish even between countries not on the best of terms politically.

Opposition politicians in Bonn are not alone in saying that the most significant outcome of Mr Brezhnev's visit may well have been his meeting with Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss.

The Soviet leaders certainly seem to have waived their ban on the ebullient CSU leader, and they will doubtless have had their reasons. This has certainly set Chancellor Schmidt's Social Democrats thinking.

Jürgen Lorenz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 May 1978)

Battle for disarmament now raging

The acid test of detente has yet to come, Social Democrat Egon Bahr told everyone during the 1976 general election campaign. He knew what he was talking about.

Egon Bahr, as Willy Brandt's right-hand man one of the prime movers towards a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union, reckoned the "major operative task" facing the Bonn government would be to negotiate effective troop cuts in Central Europe.

People everywhere with minds of their own are bound to wonder why a declared policy of peaceful coexistence is not moving towards a gradual reduction in the intolerable arms bill.

Otherwise the time must inevitably, inexorably come when detente loses credibility, as Willy Brandt himself well appreciates.

Herr Brandt is busy mobilising the Socialist International to forestall an ominous intensification of the arms race which would dash all hopes of real East-West detente.

This aim is shared by the coming special UN general assembly in New York, designed to mobilise international opinion now that politicians have evidently failed to solve the basic problem.

The Soviet Union has taken the opportunity afforded by relative detente over the past decade to consolidate its armed forces in all sectors.

Ever more powerful SS 20 nuclear missiles are aimed at Central Europe. The Warsaw Pact's front-line armies are equipped with the latest tanks. Navies and air forces have been completely modernised.

From this position of strength Leonid Brezhnev was recently able proudly to proclaim that he need not increase his armed forces by a single tank or man in uniform.

Does he seriously believe he can denounce to the world as a blow to disarmament the West's at times despairing efforts to come somewhere near keeping pace with East Bloc military potential?

Only at first glance does the Soviet leader appear to have the most telling argument in this international war of words.

The Americans, he argues, are planning to introduce the neutron bomb in Central Europe, thereby stepping up the arms race. But on closer examination the Soviet leader seems to be on doubtful ground in this verbal duel with the US.

In the neutron bomb President Carter and his Nato allies now have for the first time an effective means of putting pressure on the Warsaw Pact countries to make troop cuts in Central Europe.

The Soviet Union insists on maintaining the status quo, which would entail perpetuating the military imbalance in this part of the world.

But niether President Carter, Willy Brandt, the Americans nor politicians in this country have any intention of taking this bait in the vague hope of securing subsequent benefits from detente.

The battle for disarmament has begun.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 27 April 1978)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. — Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: 65 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 21 90 00. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 12 — Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes quarterly supplements, featuring articles selected from German periodicals.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Hesse election can hold big changes for party system

Politically, the Hesse election will be the most important of this year's four state elections.

On 8 October, when Hesse goes to the polls, there will be more at stake than a mere majority. The decision reached will also concern CDU-FDP relations and thus have a major effect on the party system in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For the CDU and CSU (which must be included in this case), the Hesse election will decide whether the Christian Democrats and Christian Social Union can still pin their hopes on the FDP.

Hesse CDU Opposition leader Alfred Dregger's surprise offer of February — if meant seriously, and given the necessary concessions — is considered a test of whether or not the FDP is prepared to join forces with the CDU even without the special parliamentary conditions which favoured such a coalition in Lower Saxony and the Saar.

Expectations in CDU quarters are not very high. The Christian Democrats know that a large segment of the FDP tends towards the Social Democrats — both in Bonn and in the Länder. Though this is not a process without irritation and oscillation, it usually continues the status quo.

In Bonn, this subterranean movement with its short-lived eruptions has only just subsided.

FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his lieutenants are at present presenting a picture of unswerving loyalty to the Bonn Coalition.

They stress, however, their party's independence and the right to choose different coalition partners in the Länder.

This dual strategy has its reason, though all parties seem to have tacitly agreed not to talk about it: the repeatedly raised issue of a fourth national party.

After the Kreuth incident (when the CSU broke away temporarily from the CDU) the Free Democrats were justified in hoping that the fourth party issue was over.

Today, it is no secret that the fourth party protagonists are working on solutions that would enable the CDU to come to terms after all with the much-vaunted method of "marching separately but fighting jointly."

One of the most fervent backers of the project is Friedrich Zimmermann, CSU parliamentary floor leader in Bonn.

He is the mastermind behind the blueprint that would permit the CDU, to campaign in Bavaria and the CSU to do so nationally, though not against each other. On "foreign territory" they would only stand for the Bundestag, thus forgoing confrontation in the individual consituencies.

Herr Zimmermann's plan would reduce rivalry to a minimum while capturing voters on the periphery of both parties.

The CDU is still far from considering this plan which, if implemented, would weaken the union of the two related parties.

But due to Herr Zimmermann's idea of a provisional arrangement to be abandoned if both parties agree after a trial run, the Christian Democrats are certainly closer to accepting the arrangement than they were immediately after the Kreuth incident.

Moreover, some segments of the CDU hold a trump card particularly painful for the FDP, intended to prevent the dreaded drifting apart of the parties: a deal, still to be concluded, whereby majority vote legislation in place of the current system of proportional representation would to be introduced after an election victory.

The mechanics of such a voting system, which favours the big parties, would force CDU and CSU into a common fold after a trial run.

Such legislation, which the Bundestag could pass with a simple majority, would mean the end of the FDP.

These ideas are not being discussed publicly, but bits of information that have leaked out form a picture along these lines.

The fourth party is a delicate subject for all political groupings. Franz Josef Strauss, the top runner in this autumn's Bavarian election, wants the CSU to close ranks behind him when going to the polls; the CDU is opposed to all plans that would split the CDU-CSU partnership, and the SPD fears the mere discussion of the issue would affect its left wing ranks.

The Free Democrats keep apprehensively quiet because they would be the main victim if Herr Zimmermann's ideas came to pass.

The experiments with the so-called "Green Lists" (the environmentalists) at the latest municipal elections in Schleswig-Holstein have taught the FDP that new groupings will deprive it of valuable votes. Though this does not affect only the FDP, this party must be particularly anxious to capture every possible vote.

This is the cleft stick in which the FDP will find itself in Hesse. So far as the CDU is concerned, the Liberals will undergo a test there, and if they do not pass it in terms of coalition policy, Herr Zimmermann's "trial run" could well get under way.

True, the CDU still rejects the plan, but not as adamantly as in 1976 — perhaps because the CSU is aiming at consensus on this issue.

Herr Genscher's latest independence tactics indicate that he is aware of the danger. The question is whether he will be able to prevail on his fellow party members in Hesse to act accordingly.

Fritz Ullrich Fack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 May 1978)

Chancellor's May Day present: an 'ombudsperson' for women

Antje Huber (Photo: Sven Simon)

The whole thing was supposed to have been kept secret until May Day but it leaked out through the thin walls in Bonn's corridors of power that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt intends to prove to the nation that he has a heart for women.

At the trades unions' May Day celebrations in Essen he intends to announce the appointment of an ombudsman for women.

It is a fortuitous coincidence that the Chancellor is due to speak at the Essen May Day celebration, for Essen is the contituency of his candidate for the new post. She is Antje Huber, Minister for Youth, Family Affairs and Health and the only woman in the Cabinet.

The creation of any new office and title requires a great deal of circumspection.

The Chancellor's decisions are never as solitary as they might seem. Not only does he have to take into account his coalition partner, but he also, on occasion, has to consult with his own party.

In this case, his party — and above all the Social Democratic women's organisation (ASF) — had different views on how to counter "discrimination" against women: not by bestowing a new title on a Cabinet member but by appointing a woman to a Chancellery post.

The ASF's project was presented at a conference in Siegen last year.

Initially, this envisaged an "equal rights commission" modelled on some other countries, which would have ombudsman functions.

But the women subsequently realised that such a commission could not function without a basis in law and that the legislation could not be passed in this session.

It also turned out in discussions with the party leadership that the term "equal rights commission" could be misleading, since Article 3 of the Constitution guarantees these rights anyway.

But despite equal rights, women are not treated as the equals of men in politics, professional life and the family.

This led to verbal acrobatics. The ASF called for the establishment of an "equality authority" at the Chancellery.

And, since men too took part in the month-long preparatory work, the whole thing led to a "general staff for the equality of women."

According to an internal ASF memo, this "staff" was to have its own letterhead and correspond in its own right "for reasons of public relations."

Thus, for instance, no draft Bill was to reach the Cabinet in future unless checked by the "staff" as to "whether it promotes, hampers or is indifferent to the process of equality."

According to the ASF blueprint, an annual report was to list major infringements of equality.

Chancellor Schmidt seemed prepared in principle to meet the women halfway. But he was not prepared to provide a new post at the Chancellery — perhaps out of consideration for his coalition partner.

Herr Schmidt was also deterred by the experience of North Rhine-Westphalia's Prime Minister Heinz Kühn in 1975 in connection with the appointment of a Land ombudsman for women.

But he overlooked that Herr Kühn's first ombudsman, Barbara von Sell, resigned because she had neither access to the Cabinet nor any authority with the ministries.

Frau Antje Huber at least has access to the Cabinet. But whether she will be able to fulfil her task on a "supradepartmental level" remains to be seen.

No exact description of her authority is available.

The ASF is thus viewing the Chancellor's May Day gift with mixed feelings because the future ombudsman for women has already demonstrated that she is unwilling to take orders — at least not from her fellow women party members.

Recently, when the ASF repeated its demand for a general staff for the equality of women at the Chancellery, intending to emphasis the demand with a press release, the whole thing resulted in friction.

Though the SPD press office published the release, the word "Chancellery" was left out — on instructions from Antje Huber.

H. Palmer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 April 1978)

Continued from page 1

of Berlin. Here again the two sides do no more than agree to disagree. Strict observation and full implementation of the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin are all well and good, but they formed part of the 14-page joint declaration signed in 1973.

This undertaking was claimed five years ago to be a substantial precondition of lasting detente in the heart of Europe, but it made little difference to disagreements over Berlin.

Once again it has been left to the lower echelons to find a solution to the problem. Yet who is to provide the answer, one may well ask, if the heads of government are unable to do so?

It is they in the end who are empowered to set their governments' policy guidelines.

Mr Brezhnev's Bonn summit meeting with German leaders was intended to pave the way for new departures in political detente and military disarmament, but the outcome may not prove any too spectacular.

Small consolation it may be, but the old adage no doubt applies that it is better to talk than to exchange gunfire.

Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn did not constitute a political breakthrough, and was historic only inasmuch as the meeting is unlikely to recur with the same cast.

Eghard Mörbitz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 May 1978)

■ LEGISLATION

SPD declares war on Radicals
Decree over teacher's barring

SPD secretary Egon Bahr recently announced where he would like to see the Extremists Decree — "on the scrap-heap."

And in a speech to the SPD party executive chairman Willy Brandt said: "It is not enough simply to say that the so-called Extremists Decree has outlived its usefulness."

These drastic statements of intent were provoked by the case of Edgar Vögel in Bavaria. Vögel was initially barred from entering the teaching profession not only because he was a member of the *Sozialdemokratischer Hochschulbund* (Social Democratic university association), but because he supported the SPD's programme for 1985.

The first reason was not unduly alarming as the SPD is no longer close to the SDUA. But that his support of the SPD was held against him confirmed worries in the party that the investigation net could be spread so wide as to include SPD members.

The Bavarian Ministry of Education has since apologised, saying it was a mistake, but this is little comfort, especially as there is a similar case in Baden-Württemberg.

The incidents are sufficient reason in themselves for the SPD to cry halt, verbally at least. The party bears the heavy burden of having been partly responsible for introducing the measure in 1972, under Willy Brandt's chancellorship.

This guilty conscience has not been relieved by subsequent measures to keep the decree within reasonable bounds, or even to abolish it in Länder with SPD governments.

The Federal Constitutional Court has ruled on the decree, the Bundestag has introduced improvements and the Cabinet has worked out a list of criteria to be met if a candidate is to be barred.

But this does not affect the principle. The practice of investigation by the administrative authorities has occasionally assumed a Kafkaesque logic of its own.

Then there is the problem of the sheer number of people whose political background has been investigated. Over a million candidates have come under scrutiny. The *Verfassungsschutz* (Office for the Protection of the Constitution) had doubts about the loyalty to the constitution of 20,000 in all, and only in 2,000 cases did these doubts prove so grave that the candidates involved were barred from the public service.

There is also the problem that this widespread investigation intimidates candidates. This effect cannot be expressed in figures but it clearly exists, especially when we remember that investigators frequently try to find out what candidates think, as opposed to what they have done (even though the evaluation of candidates' actions is the only official criterion).

The investigators all too often use information at their disposal to conduct a form of inquisition. In extreme cases the candidate is almost forced to publicly recant all criticism of the basic order in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The SPD leadership has set up a working party under Hans Koschnick, deputy chairman and mayor of Bremen. The group will analyse the practice of the decree and report. Willy Brandt will then talk to the SPD Land Prime Ministers and discuss eays of cutting down the number of investigations. Koschnick has been asked to head the working party because his Bremen system plays an important part in SPD plans to reform the decree.

The basic elements of the Bremen plan are:

- Only candidates for posts involving security, for example, the police, the Senate Office and the *Verfassungsschutz*, are automatically subject to investigation.
- Candidates for the teaching profession, who represent the vast majority of those up to now affected by the Extremists Decree, would not be investigated unless they had proved suspect during training and teaching practice.

Another possibility also under discussion is to exclude from investigation those professions where the state has a monopoly, the teaching and legal professions. The FDP is considering a scheme whereby only candidates for leading government civil service positions would be vetted.

Working out the details of any new scheme will be a tricky and thankless task. Even after six years of controversial and dubious practice no one has yet found the answer. Basically the choice is between preventive investigation and trust in a candidate's democratic integrity unless the opposite is proven. Any middle way would simply be too much for the bureaucracy. The two positions described avove will continue to dominate political discussion.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 5 May 1978)

Party call for slashing cut to industry subsidies

The FDP fiscal and financial policy committee has advocated slashing cuts in the heavy subsidies the state gives to many industries.

The FDP executive has approved the report and is to include recommendations in its programme.

The committee based its findings on the Bonn government's report on subsidies in 1977. The total amount last year was DM47.1 billion, of which DM26.3 billion was paid by the Bonn government, DM17 billion by the Länder and DM3.8 billion by local councils.

Industry is subsidised to the tune of DM11.6 billion, DM11.4 billion goes housing, DM10 billion on measures to encourage saving and the accumulation of wealth, agriculture and the food industry get DM5.9 billion and transport DM2.8 billion. A further DM5.4 billion went to other recipients.

The FDP believes in future the criteria for subsidies should be much tougher. Recipients would be required to prove their success and state precisely what the money was to be used for. The party is against permanent subsidies and calls for recipients to be obliged to publish how much they receive.

It wants the amount paid to decrease rather than rise over time. The FDP would prefer to see direct financial aid granted rather than tax relief.

The executive's resolution says "subsidies are a means with the aid of which state economic policy can provide a framework for the market economy based on competition."

The FDP believes that up to now the purpose of subsidies has not been at all clearly defined.

There were disagreements in the party executive as to the best way of checking on the success of subsidies.

The committee proposed that a committee of experts on structural policy should be formed to watch over grants. This body would work along the same lines as the economic policy committee and the monopolies committee.

Bonn Minister of Economic Affairs Otto Lambsdorff strongly opposed this proposal, arguing that the committee would be too much like the structural policy councils the SPD advocated. These, in his opinion, were a step along the wrong road to state control. The proposal was dropped at Lambsdorff's insistence.

Horst-Jürgen Lahmann of the FDP national executive said that permanent subsidies would have to continue to the food and energy sectors. These grants should not be used to finance over-production.

Diethart Goos

(Die Welt, 3 May 1978)

Continued from page 2

tle in at the Defence Ministry; he cannot postpone decisions.

What is more, he is in the unenviable position of having taken over a defence portfolio holding a substantial number of commitments towards the United States.

True, Hans Apel feels he is a man given to plain speaking and a tough customer with scant patience with diplomatic intricacies.

But he is in a tight corner and would benefit greatly from the backing of not only the ruling Social and Free Democrats but also the Bonn Opposition parties, Defence Minister Apel faces the formidable task of clearing up the mess left by others.

Ulrich Mackensen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 April 1978)

New civilian service reform turning into policy issue

There is no sign of agreement between the political parties on a new draft law on civilian service for conscientious objectors, despite declarations of intent after the original law was rejected by the Federal Constitutional Court.

It is likely that the question will be an issue between the parties on the home policy front.

The main debating point is how conscientious objectors will in future prove they are objecting to military service on grounds of conscience alone.

The Federal Constitutional Court sees three ways in which this could be done:

1. By the present procedure of *Gewissensprüfung* (conscience testing); 2. By making civilisan service a tougher, less desirable alternative; 3. By a combination of the first two.

The CDU inclines towards the third possiblity, the government coalition favours the second.

The Federal Constitutional Court has laid down guidelines for civilian service.

- Conscientious objectors must be sure of being called upon to do civilian service. This means the number of jobs has to be increased drastically.
- Civilian service must be as long as basic military service, plus exercises. This would mean 24 months.
- Civilian service must be done in conditions similar to military service. This would mean living away from home and being subject to controls.

Minister of Defence Hans Apel spoke for altering the conditions of civilian service at a recnt party conference on defence.

At the same time he stressed that "conscience is an intangible". The CDU-CSU experts would hardly disagree with the Minister on this point, but they still insist on conscience testing procedure because they do not want objection to be a mere formality.

In a previous ruling, the Federal Constitutional Court attempted to define "conscience." According to the Court, the conscientious objector was one whose decision was determined by "an irresistible moral imperative affecting the entire person."

The court said this should not depend solely on the impression an objector made on a commission. A young man educated to university entrance standard would be in a better position to plead or simulate grounds of conscience than a less articulate peer.

The Federal Constitutional Court insisted on "specific evidence" of an objector's moral stance, which could be provided for example, by a candidate's relatives, teacher, priest or superiors at work.

The parties are obviously having difficulty putting the Karlsruhe Court's advice into the shape of new legislation. The CDU has formed a working party.

Any law would have to have the approval of the CDU-governed Länder. The Federal Constitutional Court has clearly said that the Bundesrat must be consulted on the new law.

The problems within the SPD-FDP coalition are even greater. There is a powerful body of opinion on the left wing of the SPD which identifies with the views of conscientious objectors' organisations which argue that the Karlsruhe ruling was a misjudgement.

These Social Democrats would probably object to any toughening of civilian service even if its advocates presented it as a practical test of conscience.

Minister of Defence Hans Apel will have a right of veto for the government when the new law is being drafted.

Heinzgünter Klein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 29 April 1978)

■ LABOUR

Fight against unemployment now priority number one

Western civilisation has achieved what utopian thinkers of the 19th century could only dream of. Work is no longer hard and heavy labour.

There are fewer dusty, noisy factories. Tedious work on the production lines can be done by robots. Process computers ensure faster, more accurate production. Minimal effort goes into the production of more and more goods.

These goods are available to almost everyone in the northern half of the earth. Incomes of workers and pensioners have risen considerably in the past decades; wealth is widely, if not equally, spread. Everyone is in a position to satisfy at least his basic needs if not his every wish.

The material conditions for "the true realm of freedom" which Karl Marx described as the goal of humanity already exist. "Work determined by necessity and external expediency" ceases; "men can satisfy the basic needs of life with a minimum of effort in the manner most worthy of their human nature."

For the first time in history, technological progress gives mankind the chance to pursue its inclinations and develop its talents.

This optimistic view was current a hundred years ago. Since then the perspective has changed. Today we do not look upon technological progress as opportunity for more citizens to work less. The advent of "the realm of freedom" brings with it the danger that fewer and fewer citizens will have the chance to work.

More than a million people in the Federal Republic of Germany have been unemployed for years.

The figure of one million is misleading. On the one hand, not all of the million really want to work. On the other, several million people have been unemployed over the past few years.

Society has not been unaffected. Relations between employers and trades unions have deteriorated. The trades unions have pulled out of the *Konzertierte Aktion* (Concerted Action) in response to the employers' appeal to the Federal Constitutional Court on the Co-determination Act.

Industrial disputes last longer and are more acrimonious. There are fears that progress towards more co-determination and better working conditions may come to an abrupt end. Workers tend to regard one another not so much as colleagues as rivals for jobs.

It looks as if society in the industrial nations is at a crossroads. On the one side there is the vision of society described by Marx. On the other, the war of all against all. We have got to realise that the fight against unemployment is the fight against public enemy number one.

This fight cannot be conducted at the expense of progress. All efforts to improve working conditions will come to a stop unless technology continues to be refined and developed. Without this progress, the Third World countries will have to abandon their hopes of achieving the same standard of living as the industrial nations. Indeed, they would hardly be able to meet their basic needs.

The long-term goal of government and industry in the industrial nations must be to concentrate production on those branches of technology where they are far ahead of the underdeveloped countries.

Demand at home has almost been satisfied for a wide range of products, whereas in the Third World demand for just about everything is virtually unlimited. This can only be met if the industrial nations agree to hold their living standards at the present level, if not to cut them.

Of course the hope that all our problems can be solved this way is illusory. It is also important to distribute work more equitably, to balance out increased production by cutting working hours.

Only a few months ago, most groups in society would have rejected this proposal. The employers objected to shorter working hours because they rightly feared an increase in wage costs and a loss of competitiveness in their exports.

Most of the unions fought the recent wage negotiations for the interests of their members in employment. There was little talk of solidarity with unemployed colleagues.

The IG Chemie was a notable exception. It agreed to a lower wage increase on condition that working hours would be reduced.

Politicians remained silent on the issue for a long time. This has changed dramatically in the past few days. Chancellor Schmidt spoke of the benefits a reduction in working hours could have for unemployment. Heinz Oskar Vetter, general secretary of the Trades Union Confederation, has called on the unions to work out a strategy to combat unemployment.

He wants, in the long term, a reduction to a 35-hour week and argues against dramatic wage rises. At the same time he has indicated his readiness to resume talks with the employers.

It is to be hoped that Vetter's arguments find a hearing, particularly in his own ranks.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 April 1978)

Wage deals at home and abroad

1977 unit wage costs in comparison with 1976 in %

	Germany	France	Italy	Belgium	Holland	Britain	Denmark	USA
nationally*	+4,0	+7,5	+20,5	+5,0	+6,0	+10,0	+6,5	+5,0
internationally**	+12,7	+2,4	+11,4	+11,4	+12,2	+4,2	+5,9	+3,9

* In national currency ** In terms of trade-weighted exchange rate fluctuations

More married women going out to work

More and more married women are going out to work according to Federal Statistics Office figures.

In May 1976 43.9 out of a hundred married women worked. In May 1976 the figure was 44.7, an increase of 0.8 per cent.

The trend among single women was the reverse, though of course far more single than married women work. On average, one woman in two goes to work. These figures apply to women between 15 and 65.

Predictably, the largest group of working women are single women between 40 and 50. About 89 per cent in this category are in full-time employment. Among married women, the largest group is between 20 and 25. Two out of three women in this category work.

Even though half the female population work, they still have a long way to go to catch the men. Eighty five per cent of men between 15 and 65 work.

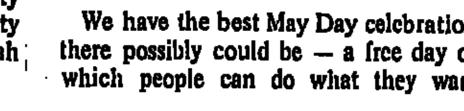
The wages and salaries women earn are modest to say the least compared with men's. In spring 1977 30 per cent of men earned DM1800 or more a month. Only 6.6 per cent of working women earned this or more.

Other figures illustrate this differential. Almost 60 per cent of working women earn less than DM1000 per month. Only 14 per cent of men earn under DM1000.

Experts say there are important structural differences between male and female employment; many women, for example, work part-time. But there is no getting around the fact that one in three women earns an extremely low income (300 to 800 deutschemarks) whereas the equivalent figure for men is only one in 20 (5.5 per cent).

dpa

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 April 1978)

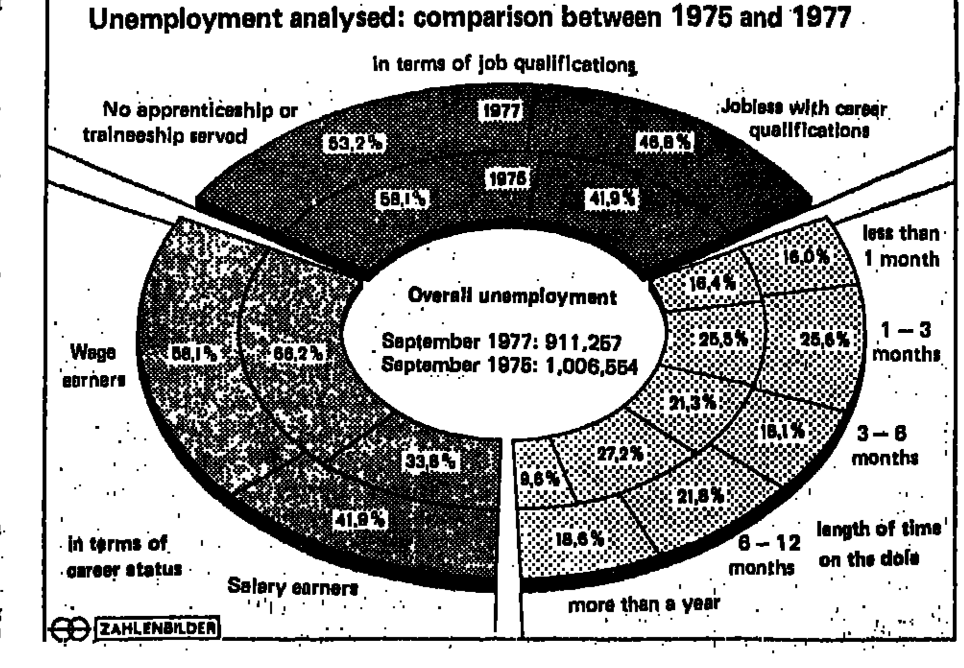


Union must help beat joblessness

May 1 has long been a public holiday in this country, with people wanting to get out into the country and not particularly interested in demonstrations.

This year there were no millions of unemployed marching through city centres, no crowds turning out at party and government behest to shout hurrah for their state.

We have the best May Day celebrations there possibly could be — a free day on which people can do what they want.



The only exceptions to this happy rule are trades union officials.

The big union bosses have to make their critical speeches and their underlings have to make sure that someone listens — at the open-air meeting places or in the hotel hall in Munich to which DAG, the white-collar workers' union, invited its members.

The small and peaceable group of demonstrators in the centre of Munich cannot disguise the fact that the majority of this country's inhabitants are not too dissatisfied with their economic lot.

Most of the trades union leaders were moderate in their speeches. There were a few excesses, in Berlin for example, but they need not to be taken too seriously.

Much of what is said sounds so reasonable and yet does not convince — when there is talk of the problem of unemployment as the acid test of democracy yet nothing is done in wage negotiations to achieve a solution.

We agree wholeheartedly with Herr Vetter's argument that the guarantee of present and the creation of future jobs must be the main consideration of economic policy. But it is not enough just to make demands and leave the rest to employers and the government. The unions have to do their bit too.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 May 1978)

■ **ECONOMY**

Matthöfer wants France to come back to Snake

Bonn Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer who, during his first weeks in office, stressed his monetary rather than his tax expertise, gave an indication of his ministry's future course in an interview with *Deutsche Zeitung* on 14 April.

Asked whether talk of European monetary solidarity was not mere lip service, he said: "Much would be gained if France were to rejoin the Snake."

Herr Matthöfer sees some chances for France's return to the Snake, in operation for five years though considerably shrunk since its inception, provided French Prime Minister Raymond Barre sustains his policy for a while.

"This would assimilate Bonn's and Paris's monetary policy to such an extent as to make France's return to the Snake quite feasible."

Paris plays a key role in making the Snake an effective defence against the dollar billions roaming the world.

Like the other Community nations, France was a founder member of the Snake in 1972 and took an active part in joint monetary operations in 1973, unlike economically weakened Britain and Italy.

The idea behind the Snake was to restrict foreign exchange rate fluctuations to 2.25 per cent by linking European currencies (inclusive of the non-EEC members Sweden and Norway).

But the Snake blueprint calls not only for coordination of finance and economic policy, a coordination never Europe's forte and not only since 1973.

Snake members must be prepared to support their own currencies should they show signs of weakness, by selling foreign exchange reserves.

France just could not afford such monetary solidarity, and without France the Snake is only a torso.

Among the remaining members of the Snake club, the strongest currency — the deutschmark — quite naturally plays a dominant role in relation to the Benelux currencies and the Danish kroner.

Mockery of the Snake's remains was the order of the day as a response to solidarity avowals when one of the Snake currencies had to change its parity.

Observers have often felt that the reptile was on the verge of death because it could never become the core of a genuine European monetary union.

But Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is determined to give new life to the doomed animal to create an effective weapon against the monetary insouciance of the Carter Administration.

During his latest visit to Paris, Herr Schmidt discussed European monetary questions with his friend, President Giscard d'Estaing, much to the surprise of political pundits, who felt the statement on this was a white lie.

And for the summit with Britain's Prime Minister James Callaghan Herr Schmidt took his economic and finance policy team with him: Finance Minister Matthöfer, his predecessor Apel, Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff and Bundesbank President Otmar Emminger, a monetary expert of long standing.

Earlier, at the EEC summit in Copenhagen, Herr Schmidt presented his plan for a revival of the Snake to his partners, making them give at least token allegiance to European monetary solidarity. The Chancellor wasted no time, acting even before international foreign exchange speculators learned of Europe's solidarity.

In mid-April, the five remaining members of the Snake issued a clear invitation to the others: they would welcome it if "other European nations were to joint the Snake in the near future."

Since the drop of the dollar below the DM2 mark in March, it has been obvious that Washington intends to operate with a weak dollar in order to improve its trade balance at the cost of Europe and, above all, Germany.

Instead of massive dollar interventions, the Carter administration has restricted itself to telling Germany that Europe's apostles of stability should release the inflation brake to contribute towards a revival of the world economy.

The Chancellor views the stability success as his personal achievement.

On Helmut Schmidt's assuming office in May 1974, Germany had an inflation rate of 7.2 per cent. Four years later, this has dropped to three per cent, and Germany is second-best (after Switzerland) in the world-wide fight against inflation.

From his five years experience with the Snake, Herr Schmidt knows that it can only survive as a stability community.

As a result, the Chancellor never tires of telling his opposite numbers, both in the European arena and in intimate fireside talks, that only consistent stability policy can provide the economic basis for joining the Snake.

President Giscard's France is today in the best position to meet these conditions. Without entering into legally binding support obligations within the Snake, France could enter into a loose cooperation agreement with the other members, thus stopping fluctuations of its currency on a trial basis.

France's return to the Snake would be worth supporting the franc to the other member nations.

But it is still a long way towards a monetary Europe on a grand scale.

James Callaghan fears that his pound is not free enough from vertigo to join the Snake. He therefore prefers monetary cooperation to a transatlantic confrontation, for Britain, too, is using up its foreign exchange reserves to support the pound, with minimal effect.

As a result, Britain would like closer links with the Snake without subjecting itself to the necessary anti-inflationary discipline.

Helmut Schmidt is pressed for time. He would like to prove to Jimmy Carter when he comes to Bonn for the world economic summit in July that Europe can show monetary solidarity.

Should a common European monetary policy materialise, it would amount to a second massive attack on the dollar, the former reserve currency which still enjoys a leading position in international trade. Even the Opec countries are considering replacing the present oil currency dollar by a basket of other currencies.

If Europe were to supplant the dollar through a strong currency of its own, America could no longer pay for its imports by letting the money press run wild.

The mere spectre of such an anti-dollar alliance could make America more amenable to European demands.

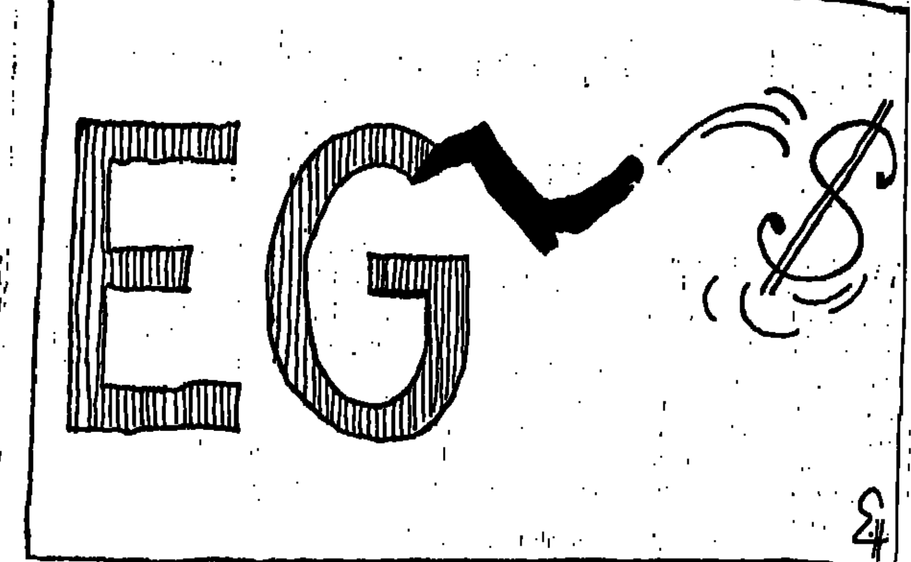
Foreign exchange markets have realised that Europe's pressure on the dollar must induce America to support its currency lest it lose its still cheap purchasing currency. As a result, the dollar, below the DM2 mark in March, has risen again considerably.

Meanwhile, Washington is displaying some goodwill by announcing monthly gold sales in support of the dollar, starting from 23 May and amounting to 1.8 million ounces.

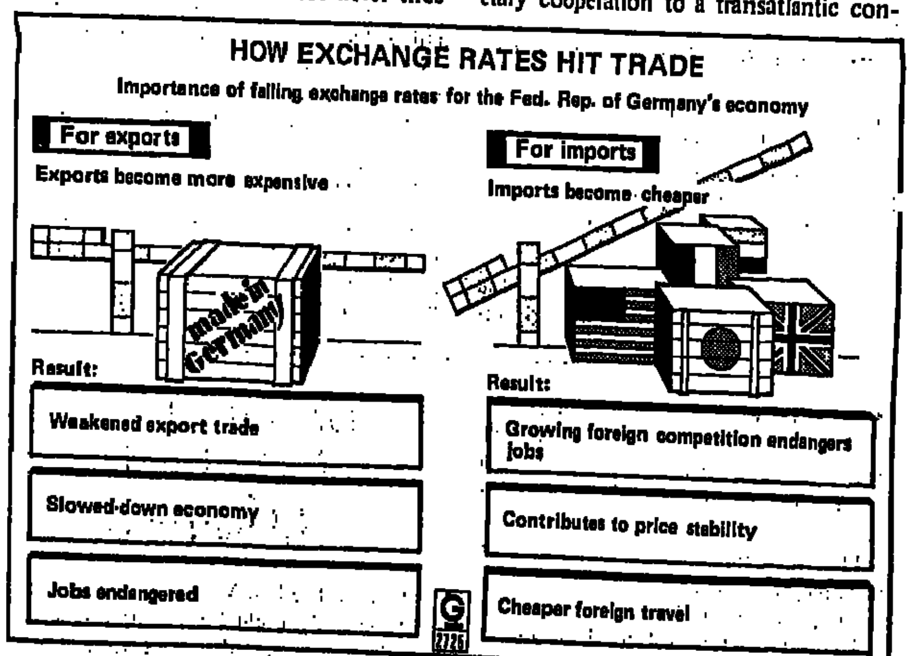
Although the yield is unlikely to exceed 300 million dollars, the very announcement has boosted the exchange rate.

Dietrich Zwätz

(Deutsche Zeitung, 28 April 1978)



(Cartoon: Ernst Heidemann/Frankfurter Neue Presse)



Cabinet starts tricky talks on budget

A new round of Cabinet budget talks is about to begin in Bonn. Finance Ministry experts have devised a framework for the 1979 budget, governed by the medium-term fiscal plan.

According to the blueprint, next year's budget will be about DM200,000 million and will require additional loans of DM30,000 million.

But whether this framework still applies will depend on some imponderables.

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer first has to wrestle with fellow Cabinet members because individual departments demand much more than he is prepared to or capable of spending.

But this tug-of-war is not as important this year as Bonn's budget objective in the pre-election year.

The 1970 budgetary framework will show whether the consolidation phase, postponed this year for economic reasons, is to start or whether the budget will expand still further.

Coalition and Opposition experts have recently repeatedly called for more thrift. But since the present budget framework provides no financial cushions, only drastic measures remain.

Herr Windelen, chairman of the Bundestag budget committee, has announced Opposition support if the government opts in favour of budget securing legislation. This legislation could restrict the scope for spending — especially on social security, the Opposition maintains.

The Coalition evidently wants to manage without such legislation while continuing economising efforts.

But there are indications of Coalition and Opposition doubt whether economising can be realised in view of poor economic forecasts.

Should Finance Minister Matthöfer opt for expansion with the 1979 budget, he can count on the support of the German Institute for Economic Research. In its latest weekly report it called for a fiscal policy aimed at increased spending.

But no decision on additional economic impulses are expected before June, according to Herr Matthöfer.

There is of course a temptation to attribute this to the July economic summit in Bonn, when the Chancellor might wish to demonstrate a bit of growth policy to his opposite numbers from other industrial nations.

Peter J. Velte

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 April 1978)

■ **FARMING**

Turgendhat criticism makes Bonn Agriculture Minister see red

Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl has a new "friend"(Christopher Samuel Tugendhat, in charge of EEC finances.

The British Conservative, picked by European Commission President Roy Jenkins for his post at the top of the Community bureaucracy, is a red rag to Bonn's Agriculture Minister.

Herr Ertl's staff recently joked: "Whenever Mr Tugendhat's name is mentioned, the Minister's blood pressure skyrockets."

Understandably, for every spring, when the annual tug-of-war in the Community Council of Ministers about guaranteed agricultural prices begins, Herr Ertl comes under enormous strain and becomes extremely touchy about criticism.

Under pressure from the farmers' lobby at home, he has no choice but to demand higher prices for his flock than his fellow Ministers in the Community are prepared to grant him.

This year's chances of a compromise are even slimmer than before.

"There is virtually no scope left because the agriculture market cannot function unless the economy as a whole functions," says Herr Ertl.

That he has come under additional fire by EEC budget watchdog Mr Tugendhat has only made him more feisty.

The pent-up emotions were released over a "declaration of principles" that ushered in this year's round of agricultural talks.

At the beginning of March Mr Tugendhat injudiciously rubbed certain agricultural facts in the Germans' faces

In a speech in Munich, he countered this country's criticism of growing community expenditures by saying: "The Bonn Government itself bears a large share of responsibility for the unremitting rise in agricultural spending, and German farmers are the main beneficiaries."

The "massive mischanneling of national resources", as Chancellor Helmut Schmidt once called the cost avalanche caused by the butter, powderd milk and sugar mountains and the wine lake, were largely Germany agriculture's fault.

Seventy-three per cent of butter stored in the Community and 61 per cent of skimmed milk power, a third of Community agriculture costs, were, said Mr Tugendhat, in the Federal Republic of Germany. He also listed 22 per cent of the beef bought with Community funds since 1973 among the surplus sins of German farmers.

Mr Tugendhat's criticism in the lion's den upset Bonn's agricultural policymakers.

Through his Ministry's press office, Josef Ertl voiced his government's official displeasure, saying Mr Tugendhat's accusations were not an attempt to find the causes of community agricultural problems but "to find a political bogeyman".

Since then the Brussels heretic has been Herr Ertl's favourite target for criticism.

During a Luxembourg session of the Council of Agriculture Ministers, Herr Ertl stressed the effects of the monetary chaos on Community agriculture, needling Mr Tugendhat, not present, by saying: "and this budget commissioner evidently hasn't noticed any of it."

The criticism was just in time for this year's agriculture prices talks.

Mr Tugendhat once before angered Community Agriculture Ministers in general and Josef Ertl in particular when, mincing no words, he spoke about the "green core of European integration".

In May 1977, he criticised the Council of Agriculture Ministers for arriving at price decisions exceeding the Commission's original proposals, thus imposing a burden of DM3,660 million instead of DM900 million on the Community budget.

The Agriculture Ministers, Mr Tugendhat said at the time, were only out to satisfy their national farmers' lobbies.

But he made a mistake soon to be rubbed in by an angry Josef Ertl: during the decisive phase in the 1977-78 tug-of-war about agriculture prices, he failed to issue warnings; and in the Commission conference, at which the compromise exceeding the original proposals was formulated, Mr Tugendhat did not vote against it.

This time, however, Christopher Samuel Tugendhat has made a point of covering his back. But even so, he has again come under attack, as for instance when Farmers' Association President von Heeremann protested at the EEC Commission, pointing out that not all German surplus stocks come from Germany,a considerable part being imported.

Herr Ertl, too, defended himself in the Council of Ministers: "Every child knows that everybody prefers to sell for hard currency — and this includes butter."

But statistics fail to bear this out. Butter imports to the Federal Republic remained at a very low level from 1973 to 1976. And in skimmed milk powder there were large output surpluses even before the import increase from 7,000 to 154,000 tons in 1976.

There is also little that can be said against Mr Tugendhat's thesis that German surplus production was due to their better position compared with farmers in other Community countries.

Due to the appreciation of the deutschemark and the depreciation of the lire, the pound and the French franc (never fully offset by the monetary equalisation system, showing up not in accounting units but being paid for in deutschemark, lire, pounds or francs), the German farmer received 7.5 per cent higher prices than the average Community price levell) which applies only to Denmark.

Prices in France are 17 per cent and in Britain close to 40 per cent lower.

Moreover, operating prices for items such as fertiliser and seed for German farmers have risen more slowly than in other Community countries.

Mr Tugendhat's example — where "a German farmer has to produce 46.7 tons of wheat to buy a tractor, his French opposite number must deliver 85 tons" — is not entirely wrong.

But Agriculture Minister Ertl considers it "polemicising" to say this is the result of a German policy of achieving higher prices for its farmers.

And indeed, German price demands at the Brussels talks have been relatively moderae in the past few years.

Mr Tugendhat's accusation of a high price policy was based on Herr Ertl's adherence to the artificial under-valuation of the exchange rate between deutschemark and accounting units, through which German farmers were spared smaller incomes due to the deutschemark appreciation and the downward adjustment of prices this would have necessitated.

Herr Ertl considers this criticism unwarranted since this year's round of talks will bring price improvements hardly worth mentioning for Germany.

Of the two per cent price increases proposed by the EEC Commission for 1978-79, only half is to benefit German agriculture.

This below-average one per cent price increase is due to the adaptation to "green" exchange rates that are part of the price package. In a country with an appreciating currency like Germany, this has the effect of a price decrease, nullifying envisaged price increases.

The Agriculture Ministers of Italy, France and Britain, on the other hand, have achieved considerable price increases in the past.

Whenever the governments with depreciating currencies demand an adjustment of the exchange rates of their countries against the accounting unit and get the Council of Ministers' approval, this boils down to an increase in the lire, franc or pound prices paid to their farmers.

Unbalanced agricultural market

Degree of self-sufficiency in the Federal Republic of Germany 1976/77

Production in % of demand

Product	%
Fats and oil	8
Vegetables	31
Fruit	45
Grain	74
Eggs	78
Meat	85
Cheese	92
Potatoes	94
Drinking milk	100
Butter	136
Sugar	145
Skimmed milk powder	152

Production short of demand — Excess production

2764



Josef Ertl: in an agricultural tug-of-war

(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Last January, for instance, the adjustment of "green" exchange rates brought price improvements for Italy, France and Britain, and in March yet another improvement for France.

This way, French farmers achieved a price improvement of 7 per cent, Danes of 12, Britons of 19, Italians of 25 and Irish of 35 per cent in the past three years.

There was a showdown over these price improvements in January, when Britain's Agriculture Minister John Silkin demanded in the Council of Ministers that the "green pound" be devalued by 7.5 per cent, intimating that if this were done London would forgo annual price reviews for surplus products such as milk and beef.

The Agriculture Ministers of Holland and Belgium took Josef Ertl's side because they are in the same bout and have no way of achieving better prices on the side.

Herr Ertl's answer to Mr Silkin at this year's opening session was: "Would you mind giving me the recipe for doing this?"

Granted, the farmers of countries with depreciating currencies have only part of their money's buying power loss offset in this way. But since price negotiations based only on this issue become a farce EEC Agriculture Commissioner Finn Olav Gundelach suggested that green currencies be adjusted only in conjunction with general price reviews.

But even this would not change the problems of this year's talks, which none of the Ministers expect to close by the end of April.

On top of the parity problems, the talks will involve many proposals for supporting measures. Among them: special assistance for Belgium's daly fargetable farmers (on which Italy's Giovanni Marcora has made his approval contingent); the introduction of a minimum price for wine imported to France, called for by that country; special assistan ,e for Belgium's dairy farmers, demanded by that country's Agriculture Minister Antoine Humnbler, and a new market setup for mutton, in which France is interested.

For Josef Ertl, who gathered from Mr Tugendhat's criticism that it was he who stood in the way of a more sensible agricultural policy, all this proves that the Community's policy is still far from common goals, representing only the "sum of nine national interests".

This is an issue, he said recently, that had to be discussed at last — and with Mr Tugendhat as well, "But I feel as though I'm in the wilderness."

Hans-Hagen Bremer

(Die Zeit, 21 April 1978)

■ TRANSPORT

'Piecemeal' railway subsidies under fire from business

On 31 May the railways will again be the subject of a Bundestag hearing in Bonn. This time it is the DIHT, or Standing Conference of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which has opened the sniping.

Deutsche Bundesbahn, the German Federal Railways, are a budget risk, the DIHT claims, alleging that the railways are subsidised piecemeal.

It calls for clearer statements of account that distinguish between operating and maintenance costs. The trouble with Bundesbahn finances, it says, is that there are so many figures and items contributing towards the deficit.

A new look is needed at costs and profits. Operating profits in various sectors ought, for instance, to go towards covering network costs in the accounts.

The railways are legally required to meet expenditure from revenue. This is how the DIHT would like to see the requirement interpreted:

- First, as an obligation to cover operating costs.
- Second, as an obligation to cover network costs as far as possible, using operating profits whenever the opportunity arises.

The DIHT feels that this view may not tally with the current legal position but is warranted nonetheless. Bundesbahn management can only practise commercial management in the operating sector; in the network sector the federal government is responsible for decisions.

Attempts have been made to subdivide the railways network into a "commercial" and public service sectors but these have proved a failure.

An audit of the Bundesbahn's statement for 1972 prompts a number of conclusions by the DIHT. Exact figures were not available but its conclusions are fundamentally right, it claims.

In 1972 the railways made a profit, in some cases large, on long-distance passenger traffic and wagon freight.

Local passenger transport, general cargo and express freight lost money, so only the first two categories might help to cover network costs.

But this is not the way the accounts are handled. Profits are first used to cover the losses of other operating sectors. Network costs are the final consideration.

Yet the Bundesbahn is required to balance its internal accounts as always, the only modification being central government grants towards the cost of local passenger transport services.

What the DIHT really objects to is that government grants are made regardless of whether they are intended to subsidise operating or network costs. This question never seems to occur.

Is it right to subsidise the railways from the taxpayer's pocket? The DIHT feels an answer can only be given once three questions are asked:

- Where and to what extent are network costs to be apportioned out among rail users?
- Is it up to the Bundesbahn to cover operational costs in all sectors?
- What, then, is the purpose of the operating profits in long-distance passenger transport and wagon freight?

What the DIHT wants to know is what Bonn proposes to subsidise in baling the Bundesbahn out year after year with taxpayers' money.

Is the aim to help foot the bill for certain services, such as general cargo, which seem bound to run at a loss, or is it to subsidise the network viewed as the infra-structure of rail transport as a whole?

Until Bonn clarifies what it considers itself to be subsidising the Bundesbahn, it is argued, cannot be sure just what the commitment to meet expenditure from revenue means.

There are sounder arguments for financing the network from public funds than for subsidising facilities that seem doomed to operate at a loss, the DIHT says.

Local passenger transport is, of course, a special case. It would not propose axing suburban services.

The DIHT puts forward a sound case. Government subsidies to the Bundesbahn ought only to go towards maintaining the permanent way. Yet if this were stipulated, operating costs would surely be declared as maintenance costs.

Put simply, a section with twin tracks for both local, long-distance and freight traffic and no intersections would have high network and low operating costs.

Mixed traffic on one set of tracks would cost less to maintain but more to run. And in extending suburban electric services the Bundesbahn is systematically using grants for local transport to build facilities which will also help to cut the cost of long-distance traffic.

Michael Hill

(Handelsblatt, 25 April 1978)

Bundesbahn bid to pull back passengers

The railways are not going to overcome their enormous deficit for some time — if ever — and the Bundesbahn board in Frankfurt is well aware of the fact.

Yet the management is still looking for ways of making the railways more attractive to today's public.

One way of regaining custom the Bundesbahn has decided on is to increase intercity services from every other hour to once an hour.

Travellers are only going to revert to rail transport if it is faster, more frequent and provides more direct links.

But this improvement would not make much difference if restricted to first class passengers, as intercity services now are.

Which is why the Bundesbahn have decided to provide second class carriages on intercity trains. "Future market prospects," the board says, "are mainly to be found among second class passengers."

Starting next year, second class carriages will be fitted out more comfortably, even having air conditioning.

Initially the railways only expect five per cent more passenger traffic, doubtless a reasonably accurate estimate.

Additional revenue, at an estimated DM50 million, is none too spectacular either. But what matters is to recover ground lost to cars, buses and planes, especially since 1974-75.

It would be unduly optimistic to hope for more.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 April 1978)



The Bundesbahn's Intercity: Now to have second class carriages to draw more passengers. (Photo: Conti-Press)

Hamburg ready to solve Teheran's traffic snarl

Teheran seems likely to choose a public transport system devised in Hamburg.

Dr Hans-Joachim Seeler, Hamburg's Social Democratic Finance Senator, recently returned from talks with the government in the Iranian capital on a contract with Hamburg Consult, a subsidiary of his public transport department.

Since 1920 the population of Teheran has gone from 200,000 to four-and-a-half million, and traffic has virtually ground to a halt. For years there has been talk of an underground railway, but no serious attempt has been made, which means that buses and taxis are the only public transport.

The result is inconceivable traffic chaos. Senator Seeler briefed the Iranian government on a suspension railway system that will operate as a pilot project at next year's international transport fair in Hamburg.

This system, Dr Seeler said, would be far better suited to Teheran's needs than an underground railway. As board chairman of Hamburg Consult, he reminded his hosts that Teheran's rocky foundations make tunnelling difficult and costly.

The Senator said the Iranian authorities seemed keen to come to terms with the Hamburg company, set up ten years ago to market the city's public transport experience and expertise.

Hamburg Consult planned the underground railways in Helsinki and Amsterdam and has conducted transport surveys for Denver, Porto Allegre, Tampere and Budapest.

A large delegation from Teheran is expected at the transport fair, from 8 June to 1 July next year. The latest in local transport systems will be on show.

It will include a one-mile trial section of a suspension railway linking a suburban electric railway station and an office block complex.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 27 April 1978)

■ ENERGY

Nuclear power plant gets annual wash and brush-up

On 3 June B block at Biblis nuclear power station on the Rhine, midway between Mannheim and Frankfurt, will be switched off for its annual service.

Switches are pulled, the gigantic turbine grinds slowly to a halt and the reactor is out of service.

Two days later the interior of the reactor has cooled down enough for the engineers to take off the lid of the pressurised reactor container to get at the fuel rods.

While the chamber is swimming in water a special crane eases each of the 193 fuel elements out of their cylindrical resting places.

Each element houses 236 uranium rods five metres long and as thick as a finger.

Each highly radioactive unit is checked for leaks under water and 64 spent fuel rods are replaced by new ones of enriched uranium.

This is an annual event at nuclear power stations all over the country. One third of the fuel elements are replaced and the remainder shifted from the edge to the centre of their containers.

This yearly wash and brush-up can take up to four weeks. It is a regular occurrence because nuclear fuel gradually wears out.

After three years in a reactor fissile uranium 235 is for the most part spent. It is more economic to "process" the spent fuel elements than to separate the remaining uranium and plutonium and use them in new fuel rods.

The changeover, experts agree, is a routine prodecure with no difficulties.

The power utilities agree among themselves when they are going to close down their reactors; there is no authority that decides.

"If Biblis is out of action for a month there is going to be a substantial power shortfall," says a specialist with Kraftwerk Union, the country's leading reactor manufacturer.

Thirteen nuclear power stations between them generate roughly 7,500 out of a total installed capacity of 80,000 megawatts.

Utilities prefer to make the changeover in the summer months when the demand for electric power is slack. Their counterparts in the United States disagree; in the US summer air conditioning uses enormous amounts of electric power.

Power companies plan fuel rod exchanges about three years ahead. The precise date will often depend on the availability of the highly skilled staff who supervise operations.

The national grid is in no danger as a result of this periodic shortfall. There is always an additional 75 per cent capacity on standby should it be needed.

Besides, there is a supra-regional organisation with headquarters in Heidelberg which pools electric power, redirecting reserves across state frontiers if necessary.

Coal-fired power stations are also taken out of service for maintenance, so this problem has always existed, although conventional power stations are only serviced once every two to three years.

But servicing a conventional power station takes longer than changing fuel rods in a power reactor, which in this country is fully operative for between 70 and 80 per cent of the time.

"On this score we compare extremely well with other countries," says Dr Eike Roth of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE), Essen.

Each of Biblis's 1,300-megawatt reactor blocks uses 30 tons of fuel elements a year. Each element contains 534 kilograms of uranium and costs roughly one million deutschemarks.

One kilogram of expensive uranium is enough to generate 71,000 kilowatt hours of electricity, whereas a kilogram of oil is good for a mere 4.4 kilowatts.

By the time a fuel rod has been in operation for three years most of its fissile uranium 235, and part of the plutonium produced as a byproduct of fission, has been spent, necessitating an exchange.

Once rods have been exchanged and rearranged and repairs to the container or turbine completed, the nuclear reactor is reactivated.

The spent fuel rods are stored for a year or more in water tanks at nuclear power stations to cool off. They are still highly radioactive and a problem not only in the eyes of anti-nuclear demonstrators but also for the men responsible for them.

They contain useful quantities of reprocessable uranium and plutonium but remain highly contaminated, so much so that they have to be continually cooled.

By 1985 nuclear power stations in this country are expected to have accumulated 3,500 tons or so of this deadly waste (assuming that by 1986 38 nuclear power stations will be in use).

But storage tank capacity is limited and nowhere in the world does a reprocessing facility exist prepared to handle spent fuel rods from this country.

Cap La Hague in France may be an exception, but it will only process infinitesimal quantities.

By the time the proposed nuclear waste disposal centre at Gorleben is in use, storage capacity in this country will long have been exhausted.

By 1985 at the latest the Bonn government plans to open an intermediate storage facility at Ahaus, near Münster.

Yet even if a large-scale disposal centre is built the final resting place of nuclear waste will remain a problem, especially as processing presents a number of engineering problems.

Some spent nuclear fuel may be reprocessed but a residue of waste will remain, and this highly toxic legacy will in some cases beset mankind for millions of years.

So the forthcoming changeover of spent nuclear fuel rods at Biblis leads, finally, to the problem of what to do with nuclear waste.

The only certain thing about this waste is that it will continue to accumulate. No one really knows how to dispose of it.

"A really satisfactory final resting place has yet to be found," Dr Roth of RWE admits. *Udo P. Tschimmel*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 April 1978)

■ WRITING

Carl von Ossietzky: the anniversary of a democrat

In November 1924 Carl von Ossietzky, who died 40 years ago this month, wrote: "German fascism was always full of illusions, raucous, obsessed with orthodoxy, suspicious of politics and leaders who used political means.

"It was a *Weltanschauung*, a religion, a dogmatic system, but none of this was transformed into energy. It may have managed to popularise a few slogans, to achieve some successes at meetings, but it never really mobilised the masses. The people never really took part."

This is a remarkably perceptive judgment, formulated certainly with self-critical intent, for Ossietzky was one of the most committed representatives of the Peace Movement in Germany.

Ossietzky had to pay a high price for his attacks on nationalism and national resentment masquerading as patriotism.

During his short but extraordinary career as a political pamphleteer and essayist, Ossietzky was several times caught in the crossfire of a legal system riddled with conservative prejudices, which turned a blind eye to the crimes of the right while furiously punishing those of the left. He was one of the writers most detested by the officers of the Reichswehr ministry in Bendlerstrasse.

In the March 1929 issue of *Die Weltbühne*, Ossietzky wrote an article critical of budget manipulations in which Ministry of Transport funds were being used to bolster the Reichswehr budget. Although this subject had been debated in the Reichstag, the Reich court instituted proceedings against Ossietzky a year-and-a-half later.

He was sentenced to 18 months for treason. He could easily have escaped abroad but refused to do so. He started serving his sentence in May 1932 after appeals for clemency had been turned down.

Before starting his sentence in Tegel prison, Ossietzky wrote a detailed account of his case which contained a blistering attack on the domination of the generals. Taking his own case as an example, he argued that the generals had exploited their own "aura" and the weakness of the civil powers:

"They defend their demands with the force of absolute rulers. Criticism is arrogance, slander, an attack on their rights, undermining of the nation's military strength. The attempt to bring these generals' demands out of the top secret drawer and into the light of day is betrayal of military secrets, betrayal of the entire nation."

There was an amnesty at the end of 1932 and Ossietzky was released in time to see Hitler named Reichskanzler. He wrote in *Die Weltbühne*: "The counter-revolution has taken over the heights. It controls the valley and we live in the valley."

At that time very few realised just how narrow their Lebensraum was going to be under the dictatorship.

Ossietzky remained in Berlin despite his friends' warnings. On 28 February 1933, he was taken into "protective custody" and then taken to Sonnenburg concentration camp near Küstrin. Later he was transferred to Esterwege concentration camp in the moor and marshland of the lower Ems.

Here Ossietzky experienced the brutality of the new rulers. Carl J. Burckhardt, then a member of the International Red Cross Presidium, visited Ossietzky unannounced in autumn 1935. He saw "a trembling, deathly pale being who seemed to be utterly unresponsive, one eye was badly swollen, his teeth had apparently been knocked out, one of his legs was broken and had not healed properly and he dragged it behind him."



Carl von Ossietzky (Photo: dpa)

Ossietzky was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1936. This was a moral victory for the (bad) conscience of the rest of the world over the Nazi state which was increasing its stranglehold.

The prize came too late to do Ossietzky any good. His health was ruined. He ws released from concentration camp suffering from TB but still held under arrest by the Gestapo. He died in a Berlin clinic on May 4, 1938. Only his wife and his doctor were allowed to attend his funeral. They were not allowed to put a memorial on his grave.

The Nazis wanted to erase for ever the memory of a radical democrat and committed pacifist. They seem to have had a fair measure of success. Our sense of tradition in this respect is more than pitiful.

Jens Hemming

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 30 April 1978)

Biography fails to capture Lindemann

Helmut Lindemann, the author of this first complete biography of Gustav Heinemann, had access to all Heinemann's unpublished writings.

He also had the advantage of close personal acquaintance with the former President in the last year of his life and of discussing the publication of his political speeches and essays with him.

This is a careful and sober rather than a brilliant book. He describes the life of a man whose history is part of the history of this country from 1949 to 1975 in a matter-of-fact, non-rhapsodic style.

Heinemann's achievements on several different levels are considerable. He had doctorates in law and economics, he was head clerk of the Rheinische Stahlworke in Essen, a man of the Bekennende Kirche and President of the Synod of the German Protestant Church. He was a politician, a member of the *Christlich-sozialer Volksdienst*, a small party in the Weimar Republic, co-founder of the CDU and later of the *Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei*, a member of the SPD.



Gustav Heinemann (Photo: Sven Simon)

He held political office at local council, Land and national levels. He was Lord Mayor of Essen from 1947 to 1950, Minister of Justice in Düsseldorf from 1947 to 1948, Minister of the Interior in Adenauer's first Cabinet from 1949 to 1950 and Minister of Justice in the Kiesinger-Brandt Cabinet from 1966 to 1969. He was Bundespresident from 1969 to 1974.

Some of these careers overlap and the author's account of them makes no claims to be exhaustive. The main objection to this book, however, is the dry, at times even wooden, description of a many-sided, eventful and at times highly controversial life. Some periods of Heinemann's life are inaccessible and the author does little to remedy this. His description of the man is uncritical and rather stilted.

The book is based on literature on and by Heinemann rather than personal acquaintance. The author probably made contact with Heinemann too late and did not take enough time to get to know him really well.

His description of Heinemann's first 30 years is sketchy, we learn next to nothing of his private life. Heinemann's way of life probably plays a part here, but the reader expects more information about such an important individual.

On the other hand, Lindemann fails

Continued on page 11

Peace prize to children's book writer

Swedish children's book writer Astrid Lindgren, 70, has been awarded this year's *Friedenspries des Deutschen Buchhandels* (peace prize of the German book trade).

Too many flowers of fantasy are withering throughout the world for lack of freedom, too many children in too many countries are deprived of freedom and peace. This idea must have been in the prize committee's mind when it awarded the Peace Prize to Astrid Lindgren.

Did the Prize prize committee consider that the prize is, in the mind of the general public at least, a political award?



Astrid Lindgren (Photo: Sven Simon)

The range of former prize winners is enormously wide but they all have political commitment in common: Ernst Bloch, Leopold Senghor, Korczak, Kolakowski, Paul Tillich, Max Frisch, Alfred Grosser, Nelly the Club of Rome and the Brotherhood of Taizé. Where does Astrid Lindgren fit in here?

Her admirers are delighted and argue that she deserves the honour. The prize committee can be sure that its decision is a popular one. Book shops and the marketing men who have put just about all Astrid Lindgren's works from *Kalle Blomquist* to *Karlsson on the Roof* on to recordsll tapes and film, are bound to benefit in "Children's Year".

Not that Astrid Lindgren needs any of this. And it would certainly be unfair to question her right to the prize because of the way her books have been commercialised. She was once asked about the meaning of her books and she replied: "I had no meaning whatever in mind."

There is no reason why this reply should be held against her.

I enjoy reading Astrid Lindgren's works and I will be pleased to see her being awarded the prize on the October 22; yet I cannot get rid of a feeling of certain disquiet at the award. Astrid Lindgren's books spin magical cocoons around children's feelings, arouse nostalgia for dream worlds, make us cry and make us laugh offer a sense of security and warmth.

The power of these books is largely the power of memory in works such as the *Children from Bullerbü* or *Michel from Lönneberga*. Admittedly there are works of consolatory fantasy such as *Mio, my Mio* and even an anticipation of death in the *Lionheart Brothers*.

The flowers of Astrid Lindgren's fantasy blossom in a world which is both enticing and utterly unattainable. Despite this, her world is no *Heile Welt*. This is probably what makes her seem a natural choice for the Peace Prize.

Natural because strongly committed political writers cannot these days win our unqualified approval, and nostalgic views of the past seem to serve the cause of peace and are at the same time comfortingly non-committal. *Pippi Longstocking's* dreams of power, her rebelliousness towards adults, have been so toned down in the many popularisations that no one needs to fear a withering utopia.

Astrid Lindgren is not at all well served by such admirers. She is entitled to our respect and admiration, but she has not deserved to be tied to a cart that is going backwards.

Herbert Glossner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 30 April 1978)

■ THEATRE

Heated audience reaction for stylised Macbeth

Reading German choreographer Pina Bausch presented the world premiere of her scenic variations on *Macbeth* at Bochum Playhouse for a three-day conference of the (West) German Shakespeare Society.

The audience's response to this work was at times more reminiscent of the behaviour of a football crowd. There were numerous interruptions, shouts and highly unflattering comments about the production. The work, due to last three-and-a-half hours, came near to being called off after the first hour.

This behaviour reflected the intolerance of a minority of the audience, who did not appear to know the meaning of patience or consideration for the actors.

A large number of spectators, including a number of scandalised professors, left the theatre before the interval. They were perfectly entitled to do so: protest and objection are every bit as important for live theatre as approval and applause. But there is no excuse for loutish behaviour and terror against those who think differently.

Petra Bausch's paraphrase of Shakespeare certainly did not deserve the treatment it got, even if parts of her work were over the heads of the Bochum audience.

Bausch's work at Wuppertal theatre has established her as this country's leading women choreographer. Anyone familiar with her major productions there should have realised that her version was not going to be a strict textual interpretation of the Shakespearean original but an associative set of variations on the Macbeth theme transposed into body language of deliberately banal but extraordinarily precise movements — apparently senseless rituals, vain attempts to break out, raging existential fear.

The version of Macbeth takes up themes dealt with in her surrealistically stylised scenic picture sequences such as *The Seven Deadly Sins and Bluebeard*. Her works are a mixture of play and ballet in which the dance element is reduced almost to minimal art.

Pina Bausch uses longueurs, repetition (as an element of style) and periods in which nothing apparently happens to symbolise human emptiness and vagueness. This tests our patience. She is prepared to take the risk of extreme introversion even if it means the unprepared audience may not be able to follow certain sections.

The lengthy title chosen for this work his *He takes her by the hand and leads her into the castle, the others follow*. It is, clearly, one of Shakespeare's stage directions.

She concentrates her choreographic attention on a few fragments of the text. The parable of murder is told by Mechthild Grossmann, the protagonist of the ensemble consisting of four dancers, a singer and five actors, all working superbly together. They are magnificent in gestures, poses and ceremonial movements which seem to be parodying the movements so familiar to us from silent films.

The wait for the action to begin is seemingly endless and tries one's patience. Then, under the leitmotiv "Macbeth murders sleep," the figures slowly get up of sofas and chairs and stretch nervously. Then they are convulsed by nightmares, chase around the stage pell-mell, roll on the ground, run into walls, stride up to one another, jump around in nameless panic at the sight of a mutilated corpse. Desperate sadness and grotesque comedy intermingle.

Sequences of excessive length follow with too much detail mingled with group arrangements of arresting and even poetical visual force (for example, the way the plastic figures in the cinema seats suddenly change places, the seemingly endless file past of the player in the huge room, their individual responses). There are also the fine solos of amateur dancer Hans Dieter Knebel, so reminiscent of Chaplin's charm, and trivial tango rhythms of Peer Rabens.

Unconventional reaction to an unconventional play: a scene from Pina Bausch's controversial *Macbeth* presented in Bochum. (Photo: Claus Strobl)

The stage design is by Rolf Borzik and consists of a colourful mixture of furniture from the early Wilhelminian era — sofas, armachairs, a music box, an old piano, toys on the ground, a much-used shower unit, high windows and glass doors through which we can see the threatening shape of Birnam Wood.

Water keeps running out of a hose-pipe and collects in a pool at the front of the stage through which the actors wade as if in a manic need for cleansing, purification — a reference to the Macbeth within us for which highly sensitive antennae are needed.

The production ended with boos and applause vying with each other. Pina Bausch took it all calmly. The question is: where will she go from here?

Gerd Vielhaber

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 April 1978)

Continued from page 10

to mention a number of important facts which are perfectly accessible. Lindemann rightly goes into considerable details on the events leading up to Heinemann's election as President in 1969 — an event which Heinemann himself described as a move towards "a change of power." Lindemann fails to mention that CDU MP Ernst Lemmer voted for Heinemann despite the renewed opposition between CDU and SPD. Heinemann and Lemmer had been students together at Marburg University.

Rudolf Strauch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 April 1978)

Bernhard play shows slow fall of masks

Immanuel Kant, the latest play by the Austrian dramatist and novelist Thomas Bernhard, had its world premiere at the Württemberg State Theatre in Stuttgart recently.

Bernhard has recently adopted the practice of naming his plays after famous people without even attempting to give an authentic picture of their lives. His tragi-comedy *Minetti* is the story of a failed actor, whereas Minetti is in reality a celebrated actor.

In *Immanuel Kant* we are presented with the spectacle of an ageing philosopher and with the stark contrast between his reputation as a man of learning and his very human failings.

Thomas Bernhard presents Immanuel Kant as our contemporary. Suffering from glaucoma, he has, at his wife's insistence, decided to go to America:

On the crossing to America Kand turns out to be an intolerable old man. In his plays Bernhard has long been preoccupied with unmasking the famous. It is a process he dwells on and it is fascinating.

Immanuel Kant is the greatest mind of the century, yet as a person he is a nasty cantankerous eccentric. He upbraids his wife, not severely but regularly. He tyrannises his simple-minded brother, using him as a mere servant and not allowing him to dine at his table. The only creature for whom Kant shows affection is his pet parrot, Friedrich, which he and his brother treat as a human being.

There are few flashes of intellectual brilliance from the crotchety old fellow. Either he trots out commonplaces about history, medicine or socialism, or his ideas are interrupted by the most banal incidents, such as his irritation at the caraway seed in his caraway seed bread. The only trace of tragedy is when he complains of his failing eyesight.

Kant's fellow travellers on the liner range from cardinals to admirals and a loquacious millionairess spends almost a whole act chattering mindlessly.

It all becomes a tragic farce when Kant is told he is to be received by a delegation from Columbia University when he lands, whereas in reality there are only two hospital orderlies waiting to take him away to a sanatorium.

This is a surprising turn of events. Only now do we understand the meaning of Kant's wife's whispered conversations with the steward. This tragi-comic, not to say tragi-ridiculous ending, could have come from the pen of the master of grotesque satire, Roald Dahl. Though unexpected, the ending is characteristic of Bernhard's "unmasking" technique.

It is amazing how Bernhard gets laughs with his provocative banalities. Apart from the banquet in the third act when the millionairess drones on and the cardinal is a picture of pomposity, Bernhard's monologues and dialogues seem infinitely extensible or repeatable.

It Bernhard's novels still have not received the critical attention they merit, his plays provide ample opportunities for a caricaturistic treatment.

Claus Peymann, the director, has certainly taken the opportunity in this version. It started slowly but got better as it wore on. Peymann has got the best out of the simple but effect stage design by Achim Freyer and the grotesquely sumptuous costumes.

Peter Sattmann, despite his youth, played the aged Kant convincingly, Anneliese Römer was excellent as the millionairess, Barbara Nüsse as the philosopher's wife was a model of mock obedience and Traugott Buhre was highly comical in his role as Kant's brother.

Volker Spahr, Wolfgang Höper, Gerd Kunath, Urs Hafti and Martin Schwab played their parts as social archetypes accurately and amusingly.

Klaus Colberg

(Kieler Nachrichten, 19 April 1978)

The philosopher in old age: Peter Sattman (right) as Immanuel Kant and Traugott Buhre as his brother in Thomas Bernhard's new play. (Photo: Hannes Kilian)

■ SOCIETY

Marburg team makes startling findings on left-handedness

Tests on infants, toddlers and school age children by a team of Marburg researchers working on left-handedness have produced some startling findings.

Even today a stigma still attaches to left-handlers because they do not comply with social norms.

They are frequently discriminated against and turned into a minority group. About five to seven per cent of West Germans belongs to this group.

That these prejudices are totally unwarranted has now been established by a study on "Adaptation and Rehabilitation" by Professors Hermann Suttte and Friedhelm Schilling and psychologist Cordula Kirchert of the Institute for Medical and Educational Youth Assistance at Philipps University, Marburg.

The Marburg researchers investigated the phenomenon of one-sidedness or laterality for some time, with emphasis *on its development and the influence of* environment.

Laterality is the preference in use of homologous parts on one half of the body over those on the other and can involve hands, legs or eyes.

Those tested included monozygotic and dizygotic twins.

The prevailing view that children are ambidextrous until the age of five was disproved.

Infants begin favouring one hand from the 16th month. It therefore had to be established whether early environmental influences or genetic elements had the greater influence in the lateralisation of hands.

Tests with 74 monozygotic and dizygotic pairs of twins showed that 25 per cent of the dizygotic and 14 per cent of the monozygotic were what might be called mirror reflections of each other, one favouring the right and the other the left hand.

This disproved the view that hand dominance depended on genetic factors only.

It turned out that the quota of left-handers among monozygotic twins corresponded to the national average, while in the dizygotic twins the number of left-handers (16 per cent) was disproportionately high. There is no scientific explanation for this phenomenon.

Interviews with relatives of the children showed that genetic factors are only one of a number of elements effecting the lateralisation of hands.

It was found that 10.7 per cent of rel*atives of left-handers* were left-handed themselves, while only 3.5 per cent of right-handed children had left-handed relatives.

The link between the left-handedness of children and their relatives was thus "only just significant."

Environment must therefore play a role — probably at a very early, perhaps prenatal, stage.

The hypothesis that the intrauterine environment is responsible for lateralisation has not yet been substantiated by evidence.

Since the predisposition to left- or right-handedness shows in the first year, becoming more pronounced as the child develops, this process should be promoted rather than halted through attempts at "re-education."

The reorientation of a left-hander to the right hand occurs at the expense of the performance of the left hand.

The consistent promotion of the favoured hand — especially in writing — virtually eliminates the problem of left-handedness, say the Marburg researchers. Left and right are indistinguishable in terms of performance and thus become insignificant.

Left-handedness, if promoted or tolerated by society, the study concludes, is in no way detrimental to the development of the personality, provided there is no brain damage, and if it has nothing to do with dyslexia, speech impediments, reduced performance or neuroses.

Where such symptoms occur, they are due to a reaction to determined retraining attempts.

For helping the left-handed child, who usually receives no assistance from parents or teachers in writing technique (because they overlook that left-handed and right-handed writing are two entirely different processes), Professor Stutte and his team have come up with a set of recommendations:

- After a decision in favour of left-handed writing, the child should be encouraged by parents and teachers to write only with that hand.
- In class, the left-hander should always sit on the left of the desk or two left-handers should sit next to each other.
- Lighting should be on the right-hand side.
- The child should sit as upright as possible while writing.
- His notebook should be at an angle to the right (about 30 degrees). This prevents writing from sloping to the left.
- The hand should be held in the exact opposite to that of a right-hander. Index finger and middle finger should hold the pencil loosely and the wrist should not be bent. The pencil must not be held vertically and the fingers should be relaxed.
- The writing motion is from the left towards the body.
- A fountain pen with a nib is best for beginners or left-handers.

Günther Voss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 April 1978)

Child-rearing institutions under fire

Children brought up in institutions hardly have a chance. Only 20 per cent of the 23,000 children in institutions in Northrhine-Westphalia will complete the ninth grade of schooling.

Most have neuroses and behavioural disorders. Moreover, institution-reared children tend towards crime.

These are the frightening findings of research and of a hearing held in the Düsseldorf Landtag (Nortrhine-Westphalia's state parliament) in 1976.

The coalition SPD-FDP have called on the government to take steps to eliminate the shortcomings of child-rearing in institutions.

Cologne SPD deputy Anke Brunn said it was necessary to break the vicious circle of "institution careers".

Institutions should be replaced by what she termed "better alternatives" such as foster parents and more educational and family counselling.

The 23,000 children in Northrhine-Westphalia institutions cost about DM500 million a year, assuming a daily rate of DM60, while the 19,000 children in foster homes cost only DM100 million.

According to the SPD and FDP members of the Landtag, the number of foster families should be increased by better financial incentives.

Placement in institutions should also require a psychiatric examination.

Karlegon Halbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 April 1978)

Jail term for 'regular' truant sparks call for law reform

A notorious 15-year-old truant from Wiesbaden has become the centre of a wide-ranging dispute among educationalists.

A couple of week ago a court sentenced him to six months' imprisonment without suspending the sentence.

The teachers' trade union protested against this sentence, which it called "educationally absurd", and in the Hesse Landtag (state parliament), the SPD demanded information on the case.

Peter L. went off the rails in the autumn of 1977, following his father's death. An occasional truant, he started missing school for long periods.

A Youth Office report says he felt his life was pointless. As a pupil in a school for slow children, Peter saw no chance of getting an apprenticeship. In school he was isolated and hated his teacher, feeling that she despised him. His classmated teased him constantly.

He saw the 60-year-old judge hearing the case as his enemy.

Asked what he wanted to become when he grew up, he replied: "A layabout."

The judge said of the boy that "he is a negative fellow who refuses to become part of the community."

The court considered Peter the perfect person with whom to set an example by a harsh sentence that would drive other incorrigible truants back to school.

The boy's mother (she has seven other children) appealed against the sentence — the harshest possible under Hesse law.

Truancy has become a major problem in many European countries and normal disciplinary methods, such as fines for the parents, have proved ineffectual.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

This has induced Hesse to adopt a sterner attitude towards truants.

Says a city representative of Darmstadt: "We have a great many pending criminal proceedings against incorrigible truants and their parents."

But experience shows that this cannot stop truancy, particularly rampant in the top grades of compulsory schooling.

In the case of Peter, Helmut Straube, the director of his school, considers a sentence that would deter other students as the only way of preventing further truancy.

"If Peter were to get away with it, more and more students would play truant because they'd rather loaf around than go to school."

Herr Straube does not dispute that Peter L's situation is particularly tragic, saying that there are constant problems with his siblings as well.

Frank von Auer of the teachers' union has called on the Länder to rescind all laws permitting truants to be sent to prison. *Hans-Hellmuth Kannenberg*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 April 1978)

Report links accidents with home life of children

Traffic accidents involving children are frequently linked with home life, says a report by the Northrhine-Westphalia Transport Ministry.

Minister Horst-Ludwig Riemer, FDP, said 9,000 children were involved in accidents as pedestrians in 1977. He promised that the Land's traffic safety programme would deal with the problem.

The study found that children involved in traffic accidents more often come from blue-collar than white-collar homes. Their apartments are usually too small to permit horseplay and they have less opportunity to go for a ride in a car.

The study also shows that, while explaining some traffic risks, parents failed to instruct their children thoroughly.

As a rule, they leave them to look after themselves in traffic two years earlier than the parents of children not involved in accidents.

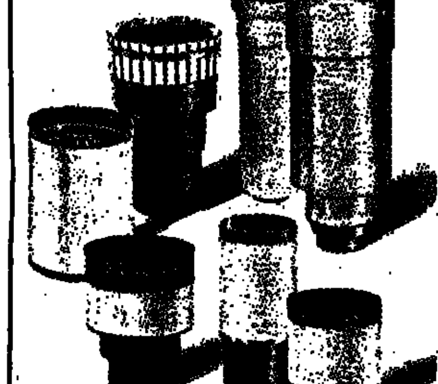
The researchers suggest improved traffic education at pre-school age and recommend that low-income low-income parents be provided with information pamphlets.

Since most accidents occur close to the home, better safety should be provided for doors leading directly on to a street.

In residential areas with many young families, traffic speed should be reduced.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 24 April 1978)





■ RESEARCH

Museum gets lifetime witchcraft collection

Johann Kruse, now aged almost 90, has spent most of his life trying to help women accused of being witches. His efforts have brought him up against official bodies, scientists and theologians, whose reaction has usually been incomprehension at best and sometimes even obstruction.

Kruse now lives in Hamburg and recently handed over all his material on witchcraft to the Hamburg Folk Museum. The collection is the most comprehensive in the country. Museum officials will spend the next few months classifying and cataloguing the items, which go on show to the public this autumn.

"Belief in witchcraft is the cause of countless crimes such as murder, bestial cruelty against women, who are driven to madness and suicide by false accusations, indecency, abominable acts of cruelty to animals, the desecration of graves, necrophilia and theft," says Kruse.

"There are countless victims of magical 'medical' treatment based on the belief that a witch is the cause of the disease. This involves eating and drinking repulsive substances (excrement, urine, bits of chopped-up worms), torturing animals, desecrating graves and corpses."

Among other things, Kruse's archive contains correspondence with women persecuted as witches, newspapers reports on trials involving witchcraft, analyses of the connections between the persecution of witches and that of Jews and gypsies, witchcraft as dealt with in school textbooks, cruelty to animals, magical treatment of illness, magical potions and brews.

Kruse concentrated most of his research in the Schleswig-Holstein area, though his collection contains information from all over Germany and from abroad.

The archive contains some hair-raising cases which illustrate how prevalent belief in the dark forces still is today in out of the way parts of the country.

We read of a man who goes around visiting farmers to remove spells on cattle. He walks around the cowshed, makes the sign of the cross three times. Suddenly a fire flares and a fetid stench spreads through the cowshed. The man collects his fee and drives off to the next farm.

A farmer sneaks along to the house of an elderly neighbour and sets the house on fire. The old woman barely manages to escape the flames. The farmer explains that he thought the woman was a witch and had put a spell on his cattle. Another woman writes and tells of a neighbour who is a witch and whose mother before her was said to have been one. In Wendland in Lower Saxony a father poisoned his baby daughter, born prematurely, because of an ancient superstition in the village that premature children had the evil eye and turned out to be witches. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Witches at work: the Temptation of St. Anthony, copper etching by Martin Schongauer (Photo: Historia)

Even today, women are persecuted as witches, accused of practising black magic, described as servants of the devil who cast their evil spells to make children and animals sick and bring misfortune on all whose houses they enter.

In a cardboard box in Kruse's collection there is a pile of magic potions and brews still available in some apothecary's and chemist's shops today.

One of the most common is *Teufelsdreck* (devil's dirt), a resin which burns with an appalling stench redolent of the smell of corpses.

Apart from this obnoxious stuff, there are all kinds of substances which have the same effects as drugs. Nowadays they are not swallowed but strewn on the floor.

One such substance is Spanish Fly, similar to the dirt fly. The flies are dried and strewn on the ground. Their bodies contain a substance which improves the blood circulation.

A list of substances used against witches reads like something out of a chamber of horrors: elephant's lice, blood stone, dragon's blood, devil's goat beard, witch powder, corpse fat, human fat, human cranium, dog fat, dog turds.

These were the substances with which exorcists went about their dark business. Kruse has severely criticised these people over the years because they bear a large part of the blame for the sufferings of unfortunate women accused of being witches.

The more witches there are, the better these so-called banishers do business.

Continued on page 14





■ PRESS

Federal youth office steps up attack on girlie magazines

A remarkable change has coming over some Germany's magazines. Naked girls on the cover have been replaced by mountain streams and landscape pictures.

The public no longer reads how best to seduce a toothsome neighbour. The hot tips of yesterday have been deleted.

But this is not due to a change in the editorial policy of some of the yellow press with its huge circulation, or to the readers' having lost interest in sex.

And editorial offices have not been secretly invaded by legions of Mr Cleans trying to put an end to the sex gazettes.

Responsible for the disappearance of the bare facts is the Federal Examination Office for Publications Endangering Youth, which has embarked on a campaign against sex magazines — and not only against them.

Where the protection of youth is concerned, this organisation has virtually unlimited powers.

Given adequate suspicion that the young might be endangered, it can ban individual issues of a magazine, and it can then no longer be sold openly.

If more than two are banned within a year, the magazine can be put on a list of publications endangering youth for three to 12 months — which spells certain doom for the publication.

Many past decisions of the office have been highly controversial. There are frequently irreconcilable conflicts between the interests of youth protection by the state and the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press.

These conflicts become more pronounced as the Office moves beyond its function of protecting youth, interfering in the reading matter of adults.

There is therefore a certain aftertaste to one of the latest actions of our youth guardians: the illustrated magazines *Praline* and *Wochenend* have fallen prey to their zeal.

Granted, one could argue about the good taste of these two publications, but their readers are mostly adults and do not fall under the jurisdiction of the youth protection office.

Since its inception in 1954, the office has rarely dared touch the mammoth circulation magazines. It was not until a few years ago that it summoned the courage to do so.

The prevailing opinion that publications read by so many adults can hardly endanger the young has been jettisoned by the office.

Morally strengthened, it is now evidently ready for new deeds. The largest circulation youth magazines, *Bravo* and *Rocky*, which have already had individual issues banned, have now come under massive fire.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the Federal Examination Office is treading on very thin ice with its latest bannings, coming close to violating the Constitution.

As far back as 1970, the Hamburg educationalist Horst Scarbath said that the office was "substantiating time and again the old accusation that it used a possibly non-existent danger to youth as a pretext to censor adult reading matter."

According to him, this did more harm than good to the accepted principles of youth protection.

But the office was not acting alone in perpetrating such damage. According to legislation governing the dissemination of publications endangering youth, it can only act "on application".

And applications can only be filed by the principal youth authorities of the Länder and the Bonn Health Ministry.

Through close cooperation with the authorities of certain Länder, a rather curious practice evolved.

While North German Länder only rarely apply for the banning of a publication allegedly endangering youth, those of Southern Germany do so regularly.

Thus, for instance, the relevant ministry in Rhineland-Palatinate called for the banning of four 1976 issues of *Praline*.

When this failed to lead to a permanent banning over a legal formality Baden-Württemberg filed five applications against 1977 issues.

Following the application against the *Bravo* issue 46/1977 by Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg demanded the banning of issue 49/1977.

The threatened ban had its effect on *Praline's* editorial office, and before a decision by the federal authority was reached the editors decided in favour of voluntary self-censorship, abolishing the weekly bit of sex.

The most prominent victim of this internal purge was the renowned sex educationalist Klaus Verch, the head of the Social-Educational Institute in Rendsburg, operated by *Diakonisches Werk Schleswig-Holstein* (a Protestant organisation).

He lost his sex education column in *Praline*; and with it millions of lower income bracket readers lost a favourite information source.

Naturally, the self-censorship triggered by a threatened ban does not, in objective legal terms, represent press censorship by the state.

But the applicants in Southern Germany, in conjunction with the Federal Examination Office, has proved in the past few months that purported youth protection can become a highly effective instrument of government press policy.

A new regulation by the Bonn Health Ministry was quietly passed by the Cabinet, landing (equally quietly) in the Bundesrat, which still has to pass it.

This says that all federal and state youth authorities can in future file banning applications.

Up to now, only senior youth authorities were able to do so.

The question now is, who will protect us from this novel youth protection?

The federal government seems to see nothing wrong with the exaggerated banning practices of the Federal Examination Office in the past months. It wants to create "better conditions for the supervision of publications promoting violence, racism and similar brutality."

The latest wave of Nazism provides a welcome argument.

Though no comprehensive market observation has been carried out as yet, the federal government believes that there are signs of a shift from sex to brutality.

There is no escaping the impression that our over-zealous youth guardians have been barking up the wrong tree.

Karlheinz Lutzmann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 23 April 1978)

Press museum shows history through papers

Man has always been possessed by the wish to own something unusual. While today's collectors scour the world for rare antiques, a 19th century city official in Aachen, Oskar von Forckenbeck, pursued an unusual hobby, collecting newspapers.

His hobby has provided the basis for the International Newspaper Museum in Aachen, one of the world's largest.

From the modest beginnings one hundred years ago, the museum has developed into an institution with 110,000 first, last and anniversary editions, reflecting printing and editorial history.

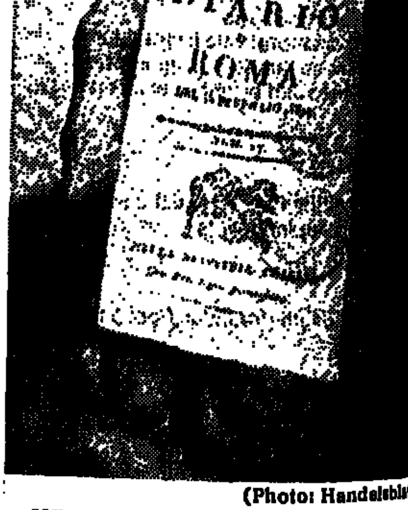
The revolution of 1848—49 marked a newspaper explosion. The public was presented with a plethora of magazines and dailies.

First editions reported on the Paris February revolution, an extra edition of *Kölnische Zeitung* of 25 February 1848 carried the front-page headline: "Bad News from Paris", reporting the toppling of Metternich in March 1848 and the appointment of David Hansemann as Prussian Finance Minister.

But such headlines were hardly enough to stimulate anybody to collect newspapers, except Herr von Forckenbeck, a widely-travelled member of the Aachen bourgeoisie.

It was he who founded the International Newspaper Museum in 1886, a stone's throw from the house where the 34-year-old editor Paul Julius Reuter established his "Institute for the Transmission of Cables" with 40 borrowed carrier pigeons in 1850. Today, Reuters is one of the world's largest news agencies.

Newspapers are contemporary history for 24 hours. Headlines and authors are forgotten from one day to the next. Journalists work for the moment, and the copy of today becomes the waste paper of tomorrow. Their life is a constant race with time.



(Photo: Handelsblatt)

What the Mona Lisa is for the Louvre, *The Constellation*, the world's largest newspaper — the size of a curtain — is for the Aachen Museum, said a trade magazine recently.

The super paper was published by George Roberts in New York on the 4 July, 1859, commemorating the 83rd anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Each page had 13 columns and was illustrated with scenes from the revolution.

Forty journalists and printers spent eight weeks working on it. The copies sold for 50 cents and the edition of 24,000 was sold out immediately.

The world's smallest newspaper is also in the Aachen Museum. It is the *Diario di Roma*, measuring 12.7 cm by 6.8 cm and was printed under a special Papal permit on 28 February 1829.

One of the most gratifying news items confronting the visitor to the Museum is the *Aachener Nachrichten* headline "The War is Over".

(Handelsblatt, 20 April 1978)

Continued from page 13

The result is that they themselves often accuse women of being witches.

The so-called "sympathy books" ply an important part in the witch-banishers' craft. These books contain, apart from traditional herbal recipes, a number of dangerous magical recipes which in some cases have caused death. The books contain details of how witches can be recognised, made harmless and even killed.

The best known is the "6th and 7th Books of Moses - Moses's Magical Craft, the Mystery of Mysteries" which first appeared in the middle of the 19th century.

There are now many different editions of these books and resemblances between them are slight. Kruse has several times taken the publishers to court but without much success. Courts frequently ruled that these were folk books which gave evidence of traditions which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Kruse has called upon the state to prohibit the activities of unscrupulous witch-banishers, prevent the sale of magical potions to the superstitious and to witch banishers and to remove all dubious material on witchcraft from school textbooks. His attempts to persuade the Ministry of Justice to introduce special laws to protect women persecuted as witches have so far failed.

After one such case, Kruse received a threatening letter saying:"It is a disgrace the way people like you drag the most sacred things in the dirt . . .but the hour of reckoning will come . . .the 6th and 7th books of Moses are as much a part of the Bible as the first five . . . we'll have to think about putting you on trial."

Kruse's main concern was to get rid of superstition and help persecuted women. Museum staff working on his archives point out that his work contains important insights into how people become outsiders, come to be regarded as enemies in society, and on the psychological mechanisms behind persecution

Karsten Plog

(Der Tagesspiegel, 23 April 1978)

■ SPORT

Mönchen rampant but Cologne takes crown

The final Bundesliga soccer fixtures proved a real cliffhanger, with goal averages deciding the championship title.

Borussia Mönchengladbach trounced Dortmund 12 - 0, the highest score in 15 seasons of federal league football. But in Hamburg Cologne caned St Pauli 5 - 0 to retain thein league table lead by a wafer-thin margin of three goals, the two teams being level in points.

For Cologne it was a league and cup double, a feat previously achieved only by Schalke 04 in 1937 and Bayern Munich in 1969.

At football grounds all over the country cars were glued to transistor radios and when the news came through that Mönchengladbach were leading 3 - 0 after 13 minutes it spread like wildfire round the stands and terraces.

Even in Frankfurt the Eintracht fans started chanting for Borussia, forgetting for a moment that their own team was hoping to qualify for the Uefa Cup. But this hope was dashed when Dietz put MSV Duisburg 1 - 0 ahead.

Mönchengladbach fielded only three seasoned defenders; the rest were hard-hitting strikers, forwards who excelled in a collective display of virtuoso football.

Which is not, of course, to say that Dortmund put up much opposition. Dortmund trainer Otto Rehhagel disregarded his directors' wishes and put second-string netminder Endrulat in goal.

This was a serious error. That morning Endrulat had been given notice to quit by the club, while at training he read in the paper that Dortmund had signed on Schalke's reserve goalie Volkmar Gross.

So Endrulat was in no mood to play like a lion, and it is only fair to add that even if regular goalie Bertram had been on duty Dortmund would still have been thrashed.

The entire team put up a feeble display, while there was no holding the Mönchengladbach forwards. But Dortmund need not have sustained their heaviest-ever defeat.

The Dortmund board decided on draconian measures the very next day. Trainer Otto Rehhagel, 39, was sent on immediate, indefinite leave and players were fined up to DM 2,000 each according to their earnings.

Club president Heinz Günther said the board no longer had confidence in Rehhagel, whose contract had only just been renewed until the end of next season.

For the time being Sigi Held, who holds a trainer's ticket, will supervise the team's training.

Triumphant Cologne players Heinz Flohe (left) and Hennes Löhr show fans the league and Bundesliga trophies. (Photo: Horstmüller)

After the match the Mönchengladbach team, tears in their eyes after having come so close to snatching back the crown, were given a standing ovation.

Impressed by the work a hard-pressed Borussia team has put in this season, the board spontaneously decided to award each player a DM 4,000 bonus.

But despite this unprecedented display Cologne were not to be dislodged from the top of the First Division table. They made short work of St Pauli in Hamburg, with Okudera, their Japanese ace, contributing two fine goals towards the 5 - 0 total.

For Borussia Mönchengladbach the end of the season meant the retirement of Herbert Wimmer and Jürgen Wittkamp to the amateur ranks.

Cologne, on the other hand, are an up-and-coming team. Are they destined to dominate top-notch soccer in this country for seasons to come, fans wonder.

Cologne players are in no doubt as to the reason for their success. Club trainer Hennes Weisweiler is the man they point to.

Weisweiler succeeded in turning loner Heinz Flohe into a team man and coaching Zimmermann and Neumann to the point where Helmut Schön called them up for service in the national team.

Weisweiler's master plan would not allow a single player to dominate play on the field, as so often the case in Wolfgang Overath's days.

He worked tirelessly and systematically at transforming a team with a reputation second only to Eintracht Frankfurt's for being unpredictable and susceptible to whims and fancies.

But Weisweiler and his squad also unquestionably benefited from a team of professionals in the board room. Cologne club president Peter Weiand and manager Karl-Heinz Thielen have worked level-headedly and determinedly for the club and it has paid dividends.

The club has three million deutschmarks in the bank, so Cologne are in a position to snap up any new players they may need.

Hennes Weisweiler has first-rate backing from Wolfgang Weber and Hannes Löhr. Rolf Herings has ensured that the squad never wanted for fitness. Team doctor Dr Bonnekoh is on standby day and night.

No team in the Bundesliga has gone to the field better prepared for each match this season than Cologne, and this paid off in the final, and as it turned out crucial, encounter with relegation-doomed St Pauli.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2 May 1978)

Weisweiler: triumph of a trainer

Success and Hennes Weisweiler are synonymous, and this season he has two more soccer training successes: a Cup and league double with 1 FC Cologne.

Players respect Weisweiler most of all for his uncompromising professionalism. His authority is unquestioningly accepted.

Even a loner such as Heinz Flohe was persuaded by Weisweiler to stop playing somewhat unproductively to the gallery and make a new name for himself as a steady, reliable team man.

In Cologne Hennes Weisweiler is ungrudgingly acknowledged to have persuaded not only Flohe but also the entire squad to abandon the lackadaisical approach that used to be their hallmark.

For Weisweiler soccer is a hobby, a job and a mission. He is a dedicated man and determined to put his ideas into effect, even if they mean make-or-break clashes with the superstars in his team.

During his tenure at Mönchengladbach he had one quarrel after another with team captain Günter Netzer. Their relationship was love-hate if ever there was one.

In Barcelona Weisweiler was the loser in his clash of wills with Johan Cruyff and his stay there was cut short. He returned to Germany, this time to Cologne.

In Cologne Wolfgang Overath had ruled as team captain for more than a decade and had no intention of accepting a new role at the end of his career.

Overath refused to accept Weisweiler's plans wholeheartedly. There was little love lost between them. In the end the ageing midfield supremo chose to retire.

Hennes Weisweiler comes from Cologne and in private life is a cheery and good-natured as folk from the Rhineland tend to be. But woe betide the opposition if he loses at cards. And football is an altogether more serious business.

"If there are five cups going in a season Hennes will not be satisfied until he has won all five," says his friend and mentor Erich Ribbeck.

He has ended this season with a couple more to add to his collection.

sid

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 May 1978)

Braun streaks home in gruelling road race

Dietrich Thurau may have won the laurels in Zurich the day before, but on May Day pursuit world champion Gregor Braun won the Henninger Turm road race in Frankfurt, Thurau's home town.

It was the 17th Henninger event over 224 km (140 miles) and this year it counted towards the World Cup.

Half a dozen cyclists took the lead in the last three laps, with Braun just nudging ahead of Thurau's Belgian teammate Rudi Pevenage.

Local boy Thurau, expected to win as he had done the previous day in Zurich, passed the chequered flag in the second bunch of cycling pros who failed to catch up with the leaders.

There was a little rain on the day but spectators lined the course — a record number both in Frankfurt and environs.

With three months to the cycling world championships, to be held in this country, the interest shown by the sporting public is no less encouraging than the local boys' wins.

Dieter Münch from Katzwang won the amateur event over a distance of 176 km, or 110 miles. He came in three seconds ahead of Willy Maessen of Holland and nine seconds ahead of Valery Liadov of the Soviet Union.

Francisco Cedena of Spain made a break after 40 km (25 miles) of punishing terrain and led for more than 100 kilometres. At one stage he was eight minutes ahead of the field.

Gianbattista Baronchelli of Italy was in pursuit, cycling supremely well, and he and Malfait of Belgium overtook Cedena after 176 km. Then it was the Italian who made the running, and his pursuers did not catch up with him until the rest of the 120 entrants were back in the city-centre.

Then Gregor Braun showed what a hard man he would be to beat. He made the running in the leading group and evidently reckoned he had passed the post after the second of three final laps.

He raised his arms in victory and only noticed 25 yards past the post that there was another lap. But this failed to put him off his stride.

Braun pedalled on, going from strength to strength, and he came into the home straight the clear leader in a field which had never been stronger.

Braun was jubilant, Thurau was not. The winner had reserves of energy when they were needed, Thurau still showed signs of the day before.

Gregor Braun had chosen not to enter for the Zurich race, preferring to limber up in France.

"I shall have to see whether I try for the road riding world crown on the Nürburgring or defend my pursuit championship in Munich," he said.

Dietrich Thurau had clearly put in too much hard work in recent weeks. "It was too much for me," he said.

sid

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 May 1978)